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TRAVELS
IN
ASIA MINOR, AND GREECE :

OR,
An Account of a Tour

MADE AT THE
EXPENSE OF THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

By R. CHANDLER, D. D.
FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE; AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

— Juvat integros accedere fontes,
Atque haurire. — LUCRET.

THIRD EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOSEPH BOOKER, NEW BOND STREET, AND
R. PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN.

1817.

Presented by

Mr. M. N. T. d.



DEC 1891

Printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square.

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TRAVELS
IN
ASIA MINOR.

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TO THE
SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

THE relation of a journey into a remote country, performed at your expense, naturally claims the honour of your patronage, on its being submitted to general inspection. Indeed, justice requires that the Author should point out the sources of his intelligence ; and, if information or amusement result from his undertaking, that the approbation of the public should be referred principally to his employers.

But, besides this motive for addressing you, the Author is happy in an opportunity of avowing the pride and pleasure, which he feels in having served a Society, composed of such illustrious and distinguished personages, as the *Dilettanti* ; and in recording one remarkable instance of your munificent attention to letters and the arts.

The countries, to which his researches were particularly directed by your committee, have made a most conspicuous figure in history. The changes they have undergone, with their present state and remaining antiquities, were deservedly

regarded as proper objects of inquiry. Your traveller, on his part, was solicitous, while abroad, to execute to your satisfaction, his share in the enterprize, which you so generously supported ; and has since been assiduous in rendering the materials, confided to him, not unworthy of the Society, and of a favourable reception from the curious and learned.

The spirit of discovery, which prevails in this nation, will ever be reckoned among its most honourable characteristics ; and when the various attempts, to which it has given rise, shall be enumerated, and their produce examined, this, it is presumed, will be found of no inconsiderable value, but will receive its portion of praise, and reflect some lustre on the name of the *Society of Dilettanti*.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and deference,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most obliged

and most obedient

humble Servant,

RICHARD CHANDLER.

PREFACE.

THE following Work cannot, perhaps, be more suitably prefaced than with the instructions of the Committee of *Dilettanti*, which the Author has the leave of the Society to lay before the Public, and with a succinct account of the materials, which the Tour produced.

“INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. CHANDLER, MR. REVETT, AND MR. PARS.

“ WHEREAS the *Society of Dilettanti* have resolved, that a person or persons, properly qualified, be sent with sufficient appointments to some parts of the East, in order to collect informations, and to make observations, relative to the ancient state of those countries, and to such monuments of antiquity as are still remaining; and the Society having further resolved, that a sum, not exceeding two thousand pounds, be appropriated to that purpose; and having also appointed

you to execute their orders on this head ; we, the Committee entrusted by the Society with the care and management of this scheme, have agreed upon the following instructions for your direction, in the discharge of that duty, to which you are appointed.

“ 1. You are, forthwith, to embark on board the *Anglicana*, Captain Stuart, and to proceed to Smyrna, where you will present to Consul Hayes, the letters which have been delivered to you, from One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and from the Turkey Company, and you will consult with Mr. Hayes, about the most effectual method of carrying those instructions into execution.

“ 2. Our principal object at present is, that, fixing upon Smyrna as your head-quarters, you do from thence make excursions to the several remains of antiquity in that neighbourhood, at such different times, and in such manner, as you shall, from the information collected on the spot, judge most safe and convenient, and that you do procure the exactest plans and measures possible of the buildings you shall find, making accurate drawings of the bas-reliefs and ornaments, and taking such views as you shall judge proper; copying all the inscriptions you shall meet with, and remarking every circumstance, which can contribute towards giving the best idea of the ancient and present state of those places.

“ 3. As various circumstances, best learnt upon the spot, must decide the order in which you shall proceed in the execution of the foregoing article, we shall not confine you in that respect, and shall only observe in general, that, by a judicious distribution of your time and business, you may, with proper diligence, in about twelve months, visit every place worth your notice, within eight or ten days’ journey of Smyrna; it may be most advisable to begin with such objects as are less distant from that city, and which may give you an opportunity of soon transmitting to the Society a specimen of your labours. You will be exact in marking distances, and the direction in which you travel, by frequently observing your watches and pocket-compasses, and you will take the variation as often as you can.

“ 4. Though the principal view of the Society, in this scheme, is pointed at such discoveries and observations, as you shall be able to make, with regard to the ancient state of those countries, yet it is by no means intended to confine you to that province; on the contrary, it is expected, that you do report to us, for the information of the Society, whatever can fall within the notice of curious and observing travellers; and, in order to ascertain more fully our meaning on this head, we do hereby direct, that from the day of your departure from hence, to that of your return, you do, each of you, keep a very minute journal of every day’s occurrences and observations, representing things exactly in the light

they strike you, in the plainest manner, and without any regard to style or language, except that of being intelligible; and, that you do deliver the same, with whatever drawings you shall have made (which are to be considered as the property of the Society), to Mr. Hayes, to be by him transmitted, as often as conveyances shall offer, to us, under cover to William Russell, Esq. Secretary to the Levant Company, and you shall receive from us, through the same channel, such further orders as we may judge necessary.

“ 5. Having ordered the sum of two hundred pounds to be invested in Mr. Chandler's hands, to defray all expenses which may be incurred, till your arrival at Smyrna, we have also ordered a credit in your favour, to the amount of eight hundred pounds *per annum*, to commence from the day of your arrival at that place, you giving drafts, signed by Mr. Chandler, and Mr. Revett, or Mr. Pars; the whole to be disposed of as follows; viz. one hundred pounds a year to Mr. Revett; eighty pounds a year to Mr. Pars, who are each of them to be paid one quarter in advance; the remainingsix hundred and twenty is to be applied to the common purposes of the journey, by Mr. Chandler, who is to be treasurer, paymaster, and accomptant, and may appropriate, to his private use, such part of that sum, as he shall find necessary, informing us of his management of the common stock, and transmitting to us his account from time to time.

“ 6. And though our entire confidence in your prudence

and discretion leaves us no room to doubt, but that perfect harmony and good understanding, which is so necessary, as well to your own happiness, as to the success of the undertaking, will subsist among you ; yet, in order to prevent any possible dispute, which might arise about different measures, in the course of this expedition, we expressly declare, that the direction of the whole is hereby lodged in Mr. Chandler, assisted by Mr. Revett: and although Mr. Revett, and Mr. Pars, should protest against any measure proposed by Mr. Chandler, it is our meaning, that any such difference of opinion should not, in the least, interrupt or suspend your operations, but that, at the same time, that such persons as dissent from, or disapprove of, what is proposed, shall transmit to us their reasons for such dissent, they do notwithstanding continue to pursue Mr. Chandler's plan, until they receive our further orders for their conduct.

Given under our hands, at the Star and Garter, this seventeenth day of May, 1764.

CHARLEMONT.
ROB. WOOD.
THO. BRAND.
WM. FAUQUIER.
JAMES STUART.
MIDDLESEX.
LE DESPENCER.
J. GRAY.
BESBOROUGH.

It may be proper to mention here, that Mr. Revett had given satisfactory evidence of his abilities, as an architect, in a work entitled *Ruins of Athens*; which, it will please the lovers of ancient elegance to know, is still carrying on by his companion and fellow-labourer, Mr. Stuart. Mr. Pars, a young painter, was recommended by his promising talents, and justified the hopes conceived of him. He has lately published a set of views in Switzerland, being part of a collection made for the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston; and is now preparing to study at Rome with a stipend from the *Society of Dilettanti*.

The diligence of these gentlemen was manifested in a large number of plans, views, and drawings, now in the possession of the Society; many of them taken in the tour related in the ensuing volume; and the remainder in Greece, particularly at Athens, where we resided several months, and where I made a very choice collection of ancient marbles, now likewise in the possession of the Society.

Soon after our return the Society generously ordered, that a specimen of these labours should be engraved and printed at their expense; and to this work, which they permitted to be published, entitled *Ionian Antiquities*, the reader is sometimes referred in the following volume. The preface was written by the late excellent Mr. Wood, the editor of the *Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*, who also drew up our instructions; the account of the architecture by Mr. Revett; and

the historical part by the relater. All the remaining views have been finished by Mr. Pars; and Mr. Revett is employed by the Society to complete the drawings of architecture.

The other materials were a book of inscriptions and a journal of our tour, which the Society were pleased to bestow on me, to be examined at my leisure and published. The inscriptions, many of which are uncommonly curious and ancient, have been lately printed in a separate volume; it having been judged expedient to detach them from the journal. The learned reader is referred to that collection for such of them as are connected with the following work.

The journal, consisting of two parts, one of which relates to ASIA MINOR, the other to GREECE, is now offered to the public. No labour has been spared in it; the geography of the countries is explained, and the narration illustrated by maps, plans, and charts; many mistakes are rectified, and difficulties obviated or removed.

The writer is aware, that he may be asked by the more curious reader, on what foundation he has mentioned in this volume certain barrows now extant, as those of Achilles and other classical heroes; as also his reason for supposing Niobe to be still visible on Mount Sipylus. The essay, advertised at the end of it, is partly intended to satisfy any such inquirer.

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TRAVELS

IN

ASIA MINOR.

CHAP. I.

Voyage to the strait of Gibraltar—Custom of the sailors—Our passage through the strait—A species of porpoise described. The sun-set remarkable—Ancient accounts of it—The cause.

WE embarked at Gravesend on the 9th of June, 1764, in the *Anglicana*, a ship carrying sixteen guns, and thirty-two men, burden about three hundred tons. The commander was Capt. John Stewart; the price of our passage to Turkey sixty guineas. We had a fair wind; but our pilot, being in liquor, did not sail that evening.

On Whitsunday, early in the morning, we got under way with a brisk gale, and arrived in the Downs about four in the afternoon. The next day we weighed anchor again, and proceeded to Falmouth to complete our cargo. We were detained there from the 17th to the 24th, when we recovered our anchor with some difficulty, and got clear of the harbour. A signal was made for a pilot, but he did not come on board soon enough to be of use.

The wind had been very high while we were in the port of

Falmouth, and the weather was still unsettled. Black louring clouds rendered the morning of our departure uncommonly gloomy and awful. After a heavy shower of rain we were becalmed in the mouth of the channel, the water heaving prodigiously, with the surface quite smooth and unbroken. We were carried along by the current, and land soon disappeared. We now encountered foul weather and contrary winds. The ship seemed but a wherry, and was agitated exceedingly by the sea, pitching and rolling, the waves frequently bursting over, and the swell affecting some of our oldest mariners.

On the 3d of July we made the rock of Lisbon. We had then a strong gale, and sailed at the rate of nine knots, or miles, in an hour. We had run one hundred and seventy knots in the last twenty-four hours. We here saw a grampus or whale spouting up water, which, in falling, formed a mist not unlike the smoke from a flash of gunpowder. It blew hard in the night, and the next evening we could discern Cape St. Vincent.

As we now approached near to the Mediterranean, some of the sailors had got a strong new rope, and prepared it for ducking such of the crew as were novices in this sea. They were to be let down from the yard-arm, with their hands and feet tied to two bars of wood, placed at convenient distances; but when every thing was ready, they all preferred the alternative, which is a small forfeit to be deducted from their pay.

Our passage through the strait of Gibraltar was amusing and delightful beyond imagination. The coast on each side is irregular, adorned with lofty grotesque mountains of various shapes, the majestic tops worn white with rain, and looking as crowned with snow. From one of the narrow valleys a thick smoke arose. The land is of a brown complexion, as sun-burnt and barren. On the Spanish shore are many watch-towers,

ranging along to a great extent, designed to alarm the country by signals on the appearance of an enemy. We had Spanish and Moorish towns in view, with the rock and fortress of Gibraltar. Sea-birds were flying, and numerous small-craft moving to and fro on every quarter. We had a gentle breeze, and our sails all set, with the current from the Western or Atlantic Ocean in our favour. In this, the water was agitated and noisy, like a shallow brook running over pebbles; while in the contrary currents, it was smooth and calm as in a mill pond, except where disturbed by albigores, porpoises, and sea-monsters, which sported around us, innumerable. Their burnished sides reflected the rays of the sun, which then shone in a picturesque sky of clear azure, softened by thin fleecy clouds, imparting cheerfulness to the waves, which seemed to smile on us.

Our entry into the Mediterranean is here faintly described, as no words can convey the ideas, excited by scenes of so much novelty, grandeur, and beauty. The vast assemblage of bulky monsters, in particular, was beyond measure amazing; some leaping up, as if aiming to divert us; some approaching the ship, as if it were to be seen by us, floating together, abreast and half out of the water. We counted in one company fourteen of the species called by the sailors *The Bottle Nose*, each, as we guessed, about twelve feet long. These are almost shapeless, looking black and oily, with a large thick fin on the back, no eyes or mouth discernible, the head rounded at the extremity, and so joined with the body, as to render it difficult to distinguish, where the one ends or the other begins; but on the upper part is a hole about an inch and a half in diameter, from which, at regular intervals, the log-like being blows out water accompanied with a puff audible at some distance.

To complete this wonderful day, the sun before its setting

was exceedingly big, and assumed a variety of fantastic shapes. It was surrounded first with a golden glory, of great extent, and flamed upon the surface of the sea in a long column of fire. The lower half of the orb soon after immersed in the horizon, the other portion remaining very large and red, with half of a smaller orb beneath it, and separate, but in the same direction, the circular rim approaching the line of its diameter. These two by degrees united, and then changed rapidly into different figures, until the resemblance was that of a capacious punch-bowl inverted. The rim of the bottom extending upward, and the body lengthening below, it became a mushroom on a stalk, with a round head. It was next metamorphosed into a flaming cauldron, of which the lid, rising up, swelled nearly into an orb, and vanished. The other portion put on several uncircular forms, and, after many twinklings and faint glimmerings, slowly disappeared, quite red; leaving the clouds, hanging over the dark rocks on the Barbary shore, finely tinged with a vivid bloody hue.

And here we may recollect, that the ancients had various stories concerning the setting of the sun in the Atlantic Ocean; as, for instance, that it was accompanied with a noise, as of the sea hissing, and that night immediately followed. That its magnitude in going down apparently increased, was a popular remark, but had been contradicted by an author, who observed thirty evenings at Gades, and never perceived any augmentation. One writer had affirmed, that the orb became an hundred times bigger than its common size.*

This phænomenon will vary, as it depends on the state of the atmosphere. It is likely to be most remarkable when west-

* Strabo, p. 138.

erly winds have prevailed for some time ; these coming over the Atlantic Ocean, and bringing with them the gross vapours, which arise continually, or are exhaled, from that immense body of water.

CHAP II.

Voyage continued—Arrive at Genoa—Manner of fishing in the Mole—the City—We set sail—At Leghorn.

THE Angelica, being freighted for Genoa and Leghorn, we now shaped our course for the former port. We were becalmed, on the 7th of July, near the coast of Spain, off Cape de Gatte. We then had heavy showers and hard gales, by which we were driven out of our way, and our masts endangered. Light airs and clear weather followed ; the sky blue, and spread with thin fleecy clouds. We had a view of several Spanish towns, and of St. Philip's castle in the Island of Minorca. We found the days lengthen as we advanced northward ; and the wind, with a bright sun, very cold, coming from the Alps. We stood for Corsica with a brisk gale and a great swell, which took us on the weather side ; the waves distinct, vast, and black, breaking with white tops. In the night it blew hard. We shipped several large seas, and rolled and tossed prodigiously. The gulf of Lyons almost equalled in turbulence the bay of Biscay.

We were becalmed, on the 17th of July, off Cape de Melle ; and then had a fine gale, and approached Italy at the rate of twelve miles an hour. The Pharos of Genoa appeared as a tall pillar, the coast picturesque and mountainous, its slopes

covered with white houses, looking from the sea as one continued city. We now regretted that the evening was near, fearing the land-breeze would spring up before we could get into the mole. It became hazy along shore, and the glorious prospect vanished. The breeze ceased, and the vessel seemed without motion. On one of the mountains a bright flame ascended ; and round about us, on the water, were several fires made by fishermen in their boats, one of which we hailed.

The ship glided on towards the shore, almost insensibly, until the land-breeze reached us, scented with the delicious fragrance of odorous trees and flowering shrubs. We then fell to the eastward, to wait for a current, which sets in before morning. The night was still and clear. The moon, in its wane, gleamed on the waves and mountains. The coast was spangled with lights from the houses, which were over-topped by that of the Pharos. We could hear distinctly, at intervals, the bells of the churches and convents, which sounded sweetly soft and pensive. Early the next day we came to an anchor in the port.

An Italian proverb affirms, that the Genoese have *sea without fish*. However, from the great demand for that article of diet, the water is continually harassed. We had frequent opportunities of seeing the method of fishing within the mole. Several seines are united and extended so as to form a large semicircle, but much curved at the two extremities. The men then retire to some distance, and begin clattering with sticks or hammers on the sides of their boats ; the noise, as is observed of thunder, making the fish rise. One, stationed on the yard-arm of a ship, takes notice which way they swim, and gives directions, until they are within the net, when they are driven towards the ends, and are soon entangled ; or, trying from despair to leap over,

fall on a wing, which is fastened to long reeds, and kept floating horizontally on the surface. The reward of much toil was, now and then, a few grey mullet. The thynnus, or tunny-fish, was anciently, and is now taken nearly in this manner, but in shoals, which endanger and often break the nets.

We were delighted at Genoa with the magnificent churches, the marble palaces, the pieces of excellent sculpture, and the many noble pictures, which adorn so profusely that admired city. But this splendour is contrasted by the general poverty and misery of the people. Beggars pestered us exceedingly; and a great number of persons occurred, variously, and often most shockingly deformed, witnessing early violence; nature, when uncontrolled, rarely failing to be regular, if not beautiful in her productions. One evening we saw a man amuse the populace by performing on a slack rope, which crossed the street; and, among other extraordinary feats, he hung by the neck, swinging, and clapping his hands at intervals.

We tarried at Genoa until the 25th of July, when we weighed anchor and got out of the mole in the night. On the second day we passed the island Gorgogna, by which were many sail of small-craft fishing under shore for anchovies. We were becalmed all night about three leagues from Leghorn. St. Antony was blamed for this delay, and punished in effigy by some of the sailors, who made an image with a piece of wood, which they clothed and threw overboard at the end of a line; a couple of nails, which were driven in, keeping the head downwards in the water. He was dragged in this manner until a breeze commenced, when they took him into the ship with caresses. In the afternoon we moored within the mole.

We had been advised to carry with us money, for our journey, in crown-pieces of silver, called imperial tallerie, from Leg-

horn. Mr. Rutherford, an English merchant, accepted our bills on a banker in London ; and, on our arrival at Smyrna, we found that we gained more than *five per cent.* on the money we had imported, not including insurance, freight, and consulage, which, by the Anglicana, would have amounted to about two *per cent.* and that drawing on Leghorn from Smyrna would be nine and a half *per cent.* better, according to the then exchange, than drawing directly from Smyrna on London, exclusive of the beforementioned expenses.

We were detained at Leghorn by foul weather, the wind south, with thunder, lightning, and rain ; the air thick and hazy. Some ships, which had put to sea, were forced back again. We went daily on shore. One evening I was amused by a quack, who was very familiar with a viper, kissing and winding it about his head and neck. It remained twisted round the latter, while he harangued the crowd on the virtues of his medicines. Among these was a pill, on which he expatiated as of singular efficacy ; and which, he affirmed, possessed the wonderful property to distinguish by whom it was taken ; constantly withholding its beneficial operation from all schismatics and heretics, particularly the English.

CHAP. III.

Sail from Leghorn—In the Archipelago—Ruin of an ancient temple on Sunium—Pass Smyrna—Enter the Hellespont—Arrive at the inner castles—Quit the ship.

ON the 10th of August we got out of the mole of Leghorn into the road, and early next morning set sail with a light and

pleasant breeze. In the evening we were becalmed on the east side of the island Cabrera, in view of a fishing town. A brisk gale, with rain, issued from clouds resting on the mountains. A calm then followed, after which the wind veered about every moment. We had now left *Monte Christo* astern. In the afternoon it thundered, and a most violent squall overtook us, with rain, which quite obscured the sky. We had warning given us by a mighty agitation of the waves, and were prepared to receive it. The wind continued very high, and we made great way. In the morning it was fair and almost calm. We were then in sight of Sardinia.

A gentle breeze springing up, on the evening of the 14th of August, wafted us by Maritimo, a rocky island, on which is a fishing town. The next night we saw many lights on the coast of Sicily. We sailed with a fine gale by Sergentum, a large town on the slope of some hills. The air was exceedingly hot, and hazy over the land. We were becalmed beyond Malta in a chopping sea, and tossed prodigiously; but, on Sunday the 19th, a pleasant breeze commenced, which continued to follow us, without intermission, quite through the Archipelago or Ægean Sea. We had seen a few turtles floating, and this day many porpoises approached very near us, some leaping out of the water, some turning, as if in pursuit of their prey, and darting through it with incredible swiftness.

On the 21st we were in view of the high-land of Modona, which had white clouds hanging over it, in the Morea of Peloponnesus; and, before evening, of the cape named Tænarum, now Matapan, which is the extremity of a mountain, sloping gradually to a point, having before it a piked rock. The disk of the setting sun was indented by the uneven tops of

some remote hills, and the illuminated portion grew less and less, until it appeared as a small star. The next night we shortened sail, being near land, and the moon rising late. In the morning we approached Cythera or Cerigo. A rock called *The Egg*, at the west end of the island, with *The Two Brothers*, which stand out in the water, renders the pass dangerous to ships in the dark.

We sailed by Cape Malea, now St. Angelo, the sea almost smooth, but the waves swelling at intervals, with a hollow noise, and seeming to pursue us. We had the small island of Hydre in view at sun-set; with that called anciently Belbina, now St. George d'Albora a-head. The horizon was hazy, and it was the opinion of our sailors, that the friendly gale, which had accompanied us so long, was still likely to continue.

Our attention had been, for some time, agreeably engaged by the classical country, which surrounded us, and we were now near Sunium or Cape Colonne, and the coast of Attica. We regretted the approach of night, but the wind slackened, and in the morning we could see the mountains Hymettus and Pentelic, and the island Ægina, and Calauria or Poro in the Saronic gulf. At eleven, August the 23d, we had a distinct view of the ruin of the temple of Minerva Sunias on the promontory, and, by the help of a reflecting telescope, could count the number of the columns then standing.

We sailed close by the island Cea, which was of a parched aspect, with a few green trees on it, scattered among inclosures, wind-mills, and solitary churches or chapels. One of these, dedicated to St. Elias, stands on the summit of a high mountain. We had a brisk sky, and the sea, gently agitated by the wind, resembled a wide stream; but the tops of the mountains of Andros and of Eubœa were enveloped in thick clouds, and

awful darkness. We steered between the two islands, and had a fine run in the night.

The next morning we had passed Psyra, corruptly called Ipsera: Scio was on our right hand; Lesbos or Mitylene on our left; and the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna not very remote before us. The plague, as we were informed at Leghorn, having appeared at this place in the spring, our captain was unwilling to arrive there before it should have ceased, and now resolved to proceed directly to Constantinople. The gale was fair, and the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, it being common in summer to meet with a contrary wind, and to be detained on the sea, or forced to anchor off Tenedos. We were opposite Cape Baba or Lectos, a promontory of M. Ida, in the evening; and had in view Tenedos and Lemnos, and the main land both of Europe and Asia. We could discern fires on Lesbos, as before on several islands and capes, made chiefly by fishermen and shepherds, who live much abroad in the air, to burn the strong stalks of the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on the mountains. In the day-time a column of smoke often ascends, visible afar.

Saturday, August the 25th, the sun rising beautifully behind M. Ida, disclosed its numerous tops, and brightened the surface of the sea. We were now entering the Hellespont, with the Troad on our right hand, and on the left the Chersonese or peninsula of Thrace. About six in the morning we were within Sigéum, and the opposite promontory Mastusia. They are divided by a very narrow strait. We then passed between the two castles erected by Mahomet the Fourth in 1659: that on the European side stands high, the other low; and by each is a town. These structures, with the houses, the graceful minarets or turrets of the mosques, the domes and cypresses,

the mountains, islands, and shining water, formed a view exceedingly delightful. The cocks crowed ashore, and were answered by those in our coops on board, the waves broke on the Asiatic beach with an amusing murmur, and the soft air wafted fragrance.

We now saw a level and extensive plain, the scene, as we conceived, of the battles of the Iliad, with barrows of heroes, and the river Scamander, which had a bank or bar of sand at the mouth. The stream was then inconsiderable, but, we were told, is in winter frequently swollen to a great size, and discolors the sea far without the promontories. The shore of the Chersonese, as we advanced, was steep, of a dry barren aspect, and contrasted by the Asiatic coast, which rises gently, M. Ida terminating the view. The width of the Hellespont, the smoothness of the water, and the rippling of the current, reminded us of the Thames. Xerxes but slightly degraded it, when he styled it a salt river.

We now approached the inner castles, which were erected by Mahomet the Second, and command a very narrow strait, dividing the two continents. By each is a town; and at that in Asia was hoisted a white flag, near the sea-side, and also a red one with the cross. These belonged to the English and French nations. As we had agreed to land here, the captain, when we were abreast with the Asiatic castle, brought the ship to, and made a signal for a scheick or wherry to come alongside. Our baggage was lowered into it with great expedition, and we quitted the ship, which fired three guns, and sailed away.

CHAP. IV.

Turks described—Reception on shore—Dinner—The town—The river—The site of the two castles ascertained—The night.

AFTER leaving the Anglicana, we had scarcely time to contemplate the savage figures of our boat-men, who had their necks and arms bare, and their faces yellow from the sun, before we reached land. The current carried us below the castle, where we saw on the shore two Turkish women. But what figures! each wrapped in a white sheet, shapeless, and stalking in boots. A company of Turks, assembled on the beach to view the ship, seemed, as it were, a new species of human beings. They were in general large and tall; some with long, comely or venerable beards, of a portly mien and noble presence, to which their high turbans and loose garments, of various lively colours, greatly contributed; adding, besides their majesty, to the apparent bulk of the wearers.

We were received on shore by the English consul, a fat well-looking Jew, who, after bidding us welcome in broken Italian or Lingua Franca, conducted us through the town to his house, in the quarter assigned to that nation. We ascended some stairs into a room, which had a raised floor, covered with a carpet. Round three sides was a low sopha with cushions for leaning. The cooling breeze entered at the wooden-lattices of the windows. Their law, not permitting the Jews to touch fire on their sabbath, our host was in distress about our entertainment. However we were soon presented with the customary refreshments, a pipe of lighted tobacco; a spoonful of sweet-

meat, put into our mouths ; and coffee in a China cup, which was placed in one of fillegree-work to prevent it from burning our fingers. The consul then introduced to us a young man, his brother, and his wife and daughter ; the latter a girl in a long white vest, with a zone about her middle, her feet naked, her nails dyed red, her hair platted, and hanging down her back. She came to us, and taking the right hand of each separately, kissed and gently moved it to her forehead.

We found some difficulty in complying with the oriental mode of sitting cross-legged, but at dinner it was necessary, the table being only a large low salver, placed on the carpet. A variety of dishes were served up in quick succession, and we were supplied as rapidly with cups of wine. We had no plates, or knives and forks, but used our fingers. The whole repast and the apparatus was antique. It concluded with fruits of wholesome quality, and exquisite flavour, figs and melons, such as are peculiar to hot climates, and grapes in large and rich clusters, fresh from the vineyard. The consul ate with us, while his brother waited with another Jew. When we had finished, we washed, one of our attendants bringing an ewer, a bason and a towel, and pouring water on our hands. We then received each a cup of coffee, and our host, who was much fatigued with his sultry walk to the beach, and afterwards to the governor to inform him of our arrival, retired with the whole family to sleep, as is the universal practice toward noon, when the heat becomes exceedingly intense.

In the evening we went with the consul to view the town. We found the houses numerous, mostly of wood, and mean, and the streets very narrow. We saw the manufactory of earthen ware, which is considerable ; and we supposed the fashion had never altered, the jars and vessels, in general, re-

taining the old shapes, and being formed, it seems, by ancient models. The situation of the place is low, and subject to epidemical disorders. Besides these, the plague, which commonly visits the inhabitants every year, is remarkably destructive, and seldom fails to make a long stay. The cemeteries are swelled to a great extent round the town, and filled with broken columns, pieces of granite, and marble fragments, fixed as grave-stones; some carved with Turkish characters in relievo, gilded and painted. In the Armenian burying-ground we discovered a long Greek inscription, on a slab of white marble, but not legible. On a rocky eminence, on the side next the Propontis, is a range of wind-mills.

The town and castle has on the south a river, which descends from M. Ida with prodigious violence after snow or rain upon the summits. Its source, as we were told, is seven hours up in the country. A thick wall had been erected, and plane-trees disposed, to keep off the torrent when it overflows, and to protect the buildings from its assaults. At the mouth, like the Scamander, it had then a bar of sand. The bed was wide, stony, and intersected with green thickets; but had water in the cavities, at which many women, with their faces muffled, were busy washing linen, and spreading it on the ground to dry.

This river enables us to ascertain the site of the inner castles, a point of some consequence in the topography of the Hellespont. Its ancient name, as appears from Strabo, was Rhodius, and it entered the sea between Dardanus and Abydos. The remnants of marble, which we saw in the burying-grounds about the town, have been removed thither, chiefly, from the ruins of these cities, particularly of the latter, which was the most considerable. The consul shewed us a head of an image

of the Virgin Mary, which was found in the rubbish of a church there. On the European side, opposite to the Rhodius, was Cynossema, *The Barrow of Hecuba*, which is still very conspicuous, and within or close by the castle.

We returned, when we had finished our survey, to our lodgings, where we supped cross-legged, about sun-set. Soon after, when it was dark, three coverlets, richly embroidered, were taken from a press in the room, which we occupied, and delivered one to each of us; the carpet or sopha and a cushion serving, with this addition, instead of a bed. A lamp was left burning on a shelf, and the consul retired to his family, which lay, in the same manner, in an adjoining apartment. We pulled off our coats and shoes, and expected to be much refreshed by sleeping on shore. We had not been apprised of a nightly plague, that of bugs, which haunts the place, or perhaps rather the houses of the Jews. Two of us could not obtain rest for a moment, but waited the approach of dawn, with a degree of impatience, equalled only by our bodily sufferings, which cannot be described.

CHAP. V.

We pass down the Hellespont—Land in the Chersonese of Thrace—The town anciently Eleüs—Civility of the governor—The barrow, &c. of Protesilaus.

WE had agreed in the evening to visit some neighbouring places on the continent, with the principal islands near the mouth of the Hellespont. Early in the morning the consul asked for money to purchase provisions, which, with other necessities, were put into a scheick or wherry. He embarked

with us, between the hours of eight and nine by our watches. We had six Turks, who rowed ; a janizary, and a Jew servant. The two latter, with the consul, sate cross-legged before us, on a small carpet ; as the rais or master of the boat did behind, steering with the handle of the helm over his shoulder.

We soon crossed the Hellespont, and, coasting by the European shore, saw several solitary king-fishers, with young partridges, among vast single rocks. The winter torrents had worn deep gullies ; but the courses were dry, except a stream, which we were informed turns a mill. A narrow valley or two was green with the cotton plant and with vines, or sowed with grain.

After passing the mouth of a port or bay called anciently Cœlos, we landed, about eleven, on the Chersonese or Peninsula of Thrace, near the first European castle, within the entrance of the Hellespont, and ascended to the miserable cottage of a poor Jew in the town. Here a mat was spread on the mud floor of a room by the sea-side, and the eatables, we had provided, were placed on it. The noon-tide heat at this place was excessive. The consul retired, as usual, to sleep ; while we also rested, or were amused with the prospect from the window. Beneath us was the shining canal, with Cape Mastusia on the right hand ; and opposite, the Asiatic town and castle, with the noble plain divided by the Scamander ; and the barrows mentioned before, two standing by each other not far from the shore, with Sigéum, and one more remote.

The ancient name of this town, which is exceedingly mean and wretched, was Elcûs. The streets or lanes are narrow and intricate. It is on the north-side of the castle, and ranges along the brink of a precipice.

When the heat was abated a little, we were informed that

the governor gave us permission to refresh in his garden. We dismissed his messenger with a *bac-shish*, a *reward* or *present*, of three piasters,* and an excuse, that we were just going away; but this was not accepted; and we paid another piaster for seeing a very small spot of ground, walled in, and containing nothing, except two vines, a fig and a pomegranate tree, and a well of excellent water.

The Turks, after we were landed, had rowed the wherry round Mastusia, and waited for us without the point. In our way to them, by the castle-wall, we saw a large Corinthian capital; and an altar with festoons, made hollow and used as a mortar for bruising corn. Near the other end of the town is a bare barrow. By this was, formerly, the sacred portion of Protesilaus, and his temple, to which perhaps the marble fragments have belonged. He was one of the leaders in the Trojan expedition, and was killed by Hector. Afterwards he was worshipped as a hero, and reputed the patron or tutelary deity of Eleäs.

CHAP. VI.

Sail to Tenedos—Situation and modern history of the island—The port and town—The antiquities—Greek recreations—The night—The morning—The consul returns.

ON our arrival at the wherry, which was behind the castle, we found our Turks sitting on the ground, where they had dined, chiefly on ripe fruits, with ordinary bread. We had

* A piaster is about half a crown English, and is equal in value to thirty peras. These are a small silver coin, about the size of an English penny.

there a wide and deep gulph, a portion of the *Ægean* Sea, anciently called *Melas*, on our right hand ; with *Imbros*, toward the entrance, twenty-five miles from *Mustusa*, and twenty-two from *Lemnos*, which lay before us ; and beyond these, other islands, and the continent of *Europe*, in view. We had intended to visit *Lemnos*, and the principal places in that quarter ; but, the wind proving contrary, we now steered for *Tenedos*, and, after rowing some time with a rough sea, hoisted sail. We passed by some islets, and about three in the afternoon reached the town. On opening the harbour, we discovered in it, besides small-craft, three Turkish galleys waiting to convey the Venetian bailow or resident, who was expected daily, to *Constantinople* ; the ships of that republic being, by treaty, excluded from navigating the *Hellespont*.

The island *Tenedos* is chiefly rock, but fertile. It was anciently reckoned about eighty stadia, or ten miles in circumference, and from *Segéum* twelve miles and a half. Its position thus, near the mouth of the *Hellespont*, has given it importance in all ages ; vessels bound toward *Constantinople* finding shelter in its port, or safe anchorage in the road, during the etesian or contrary winds, and in foul weather. The emperor *Justinian* erected a magazine to receive the cargoes of the corn ships from *Alexandria*, when detained there. This was a lofty building, two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad. The voyage from *Egypt* was rendered less precarious, and the grain preserved until it could be transported to the capital. Afterwards, during the troubles of the Greek empire, *Tenedos* experienced a variety of fortune. The pirates, who infested these seas, made it for many years their place of rendezvous ; the *Othman* seized it in 1302, procured the vessels, and from thence subdued the other islands of the *Archipelago*.

The port of Tenedos has been enclosed in a mole, of which no part now appears above water, but loose stones are piled on the foundations to break the waves. The basin is encompassed by a ridge of the mountain. On the south-side is a row of wind-mills and a small fort; and on the opposite a castle by the shore. This was taken in the year 1656 by the Venetians in four days, but soon after abandoned as not tenable. The houses, which are numerous, stand at the foot, or on the slope, of an acclivity; with a flat between them and the sea, formed by weeds and slime from the water, and by soil washed down from above. They reckon six hundred Turkish families and three hundred Greek. The church belonging to the latter is decent.

We found here but few remains of antiquity worthy of notice. We perceived on our landing a large and entire sarcophagus, or stone coffin, serving as a fountain, the top-stone or lid being perforated to admit a current of water, which supplies the vent below; and on one side is an inscription.* A Greek inquired whether the characters were not Gothic. Near this was part of a fluted column converted into a mortar for bruising corn; and in a shop was a remnant of tessellated pavement then recently discovered. In the streets, the walls, and burying-grounds, were pieces of marble, and fragments of pillars, with a few inscriptions.†

In the evening, this being Sunday and a festival, we were much amused with seeing the Greeks, who were singing and dancing in several companies to music, near the town, while their women were sitting in groups on the roofs of the houses, which are flat, as spectators, at the same time enjoying the soft air and serene sky.

* *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 3. p. 4.

† *Ibid.*

We were lodged, much to our satisfaction, in a large room, with a raised floor matted, on which we slept in our clothes, in company with two Jews and several Greeks; a cool breeze entering all night at the latticed windows, and sweetening our repose.

In these countries, on account of the heat, it is usual to rise with the dawn. About day-break we received from the French consul, a Greek with a respectable beard, a present of grapes, the clusters large and rich, with other fruits, all fresh gathered. We had, besides, bread and coffee for breakfast, and good wines, particularly one sort, of an exquisite flavour, called Muscadel. The island is deservedly famous for the species of vine, which produces this delicious liquor.

We had been told, that an ancient building remained on the south side of the island, not much out of our way to the ruins of a city called Eski-Stamboul, on the continent of Asia. Our Turks were waiting at the boat, and we just ready to join them, when we were informed that a wherry was arrived from the Asiatic Dardanell, which she had lately left, and that the presence of the consul was required on some very urgent business at Constantinople. His brother, who had set sail in the morning early to overtake him, remained with us in his stead, and soon won our regard by his attention and civility.

CHAP. VII.

Leave Tenedos—An antiquity on the island—Fountains—Their construction—Their use—Face of the island—Set sail for the continent.

AFTER some delay we got on board our wherry, and leaving the port of Tenedos, coasted, with the island on our right hand.

We soon passed a creek, which is frequented by small craft during the vintage, and has near it a solitary church, with a fountain or spring of excellent water, and at some distance a quarry of stone or marble. The gullies and the slopes of the hills were green with vines. We doubled a craggy point, and saw some cliffs inhabited by wild pigeons ; with some partridges ; a few cattle ; and a church, by which, we were told, is a water noted for its purgative qualities. We landed about ten on a fair beach, having gone almost half round the island.

We were now near the building, which we had purposed to examine. It proved a small arched room, the masonry ancient, underneath a mean ruined church. You descend to it by a few steps, with a light. The floor was covered with water. Near it was a fig-tree or two, and a fountain, with an inscription, in modern Greek characters, fixed in the wall.

The reader, as we proceed, will find frequent mention of fountains. Their number is owing to the nature of the country, and of the climate. The soil, parched and thirsty, demands moisture to aid vegetation. The verdure, shade, and coolness, its agreeable attendants, are rendered highly grateful to the people by a cloudless sun and inflamed atmosphere. Hence they occur not only in the towns and villages, but in the fields and gardens, and by the sides of the roads and of the beaten tracts on the mountains. Many of them are the useful donations of humane persons, while living ; or have been bequeathed as legacies on their decease. The Turks esteem the erecting of them as meritorious, and seldom go away, after performing their ablutions or drinking, without gratefully blessing the name and memory of the founder.

The method of obtaining the necessary supplies of water used by the ancients still prevails. It is by conveying the fluid

from the springs or sources, which are sometimes very remote, in earthen pipes or paved channels, carried over the gaps and breaks in the way on arches. When arrived at the destined spot, it is received by a cistern with a vent; and the waste current passes below from another cistern, often an ancient sarcophagus or coffin. It is common to find a cup of tin or iron hanging near, by a chain; or a wooden scoop with a handle, placed in a niche in the wall. The front is of stone or marble; and in some, painted and decorated with gilding, and with an inscription in Turkish characters in relief.

The women resort to the fountains by their houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on their back, or thrown over the shoulder, for water. They assemble at one without the village or town, if no river be near, to wash their linen, which is afterwards spread on the ground or bushes to dry. To these also the Turks and Greeks frequently repair for refreshment; especially the latter on their festivals, when whole families are seen sitting on the grass, and enjoying their early or evening repast, beneath the trees, by the side of a rill. And at those near the roads, the traveller, sun-burnt and thirsty, after a scorching ride, finds cool water, the shelter of a plane or of some spreading tree, and a green plat to repose or dine on; affording him a degree of pleasure not adequately conceived, unless by those who have experienced it.

We agreed to let the heat of noon be passed, before we proceeded on our voyage. A carpet was spread for us under a shady holme, and a fire kindled at some distance. We now received each a lighted pipe and a dish of coffee. A kettle was then filled with water, and some fowls, which we had provided, made ready to be boiled. The French consul, who had joined us, undertook to furnish grapes. His vineyard was a considerable way off toward the town, but two of us, attended

by a couple of armed Turks, chose to accompany him. We crossed a kind of heath spread with wild thyme, sage, and low bushes of mastic, to a spot shaded with cypresses, where was a church, as miserable as that we had left, consisting only of loose stones piled for walls, without a roof. It had a well close by. We saw a few trees, some common stubble, and some fields of Turkey wheat, and of sesamus. The soil was parched; but in the centre of the island we found a large tract sheltered by naked barren hills, and green with olive trees and with vines. The grapes hung in numerous clusters, rich and tempting; and we ate freely, being assured the fruit was innocent and even wholesome, especially if plucked before the air within it was rarified by the sun. In about a fortnight the vintage was to commence, when a guard of ten Turks is placed to secure the property from pilferers or pirates. Among the hills, one towers far above the rest, and has on its summit a church or chapel dedicated to St. Elias. The form is conical, and it is seen over the main-land of Asia coming down the Hellespont.

On our return to the tree we found the company there had been uneasy at our absence, fearing we had strayed or were detained by some untoward accident. We dined and slept in the shade; and soon after, the French consul took leave of us. About two in the afternoon we sailed with a brisk gale; steering for Eski-Stamboul, anciently called Troas and Alexandria Troas. The distance of this city from Tenedos was reckoned forty stadia or five miles. Some of its ruins are in view, standing on an eminence; the uneven summits of Mount Ida covered with trees rising beautifully behind.

CHAP. VIII.

Flight of cranes—View of Alexandria Troas—Return to our boat—Mount Athos—Manner of passing the night—Way back to the ruins.

ON the way from Tenedos we were amused by vast caravans or companies of cranes, passing high in the air from Thrace, to winter, as we supposed, in Egypt. We admired the number and variety of the squadrons, their extent, orderly array, and apparently good discipline. About a quarter after three we landed near the ancient port of Troas.

We immediately began a cursory survey of this deserted place; ascending to the principal ruin, which is at some distance from the shore. The whole site was overspread with stones and rubbish intermingled with stubble, plantations of cotton and of Turkey wheat, plats of long dry grass, thickets and trees, chiefly the species of low oak, which produces valanea, or the large acorns used in tanning. A solemn silence prevailed, and we saw nothing alive, but a fox and some partridges. In the mean time, the Turks, who were left in the wherry, removed about three miles lower down, towards the promontory Lectos, where the beach afforded a station less exposed to the wind, and more secure.

The evening coming on, we were advised to retire to our boat. By the way we saw a drove of camels feeding. We came to a shed, formed with boughs round a tree, to shelter the flocks and herds from the sun at noon; and under it was a peasant, who had an ass laden, besides other articles, with a goatskin containing sour curds, on which, and some brown bread, our Turks made their evening meal. A goatskin, with

the hair on, served likewise for a bucket. It was distended by a piece of wood, to which a rope was fastened. He drew for us water from a well not far off, and promised to bring us milk, and a kid the next day. We found our cook, a Jew, busy by the sea-side preparing supper; his tin-kettle boiling over a fire in the open air.

The beauty of the evening in this country surpasses all description. The sky now glowed with the rich tints of the setting sun, which, skirting the western horizon, raised, as it were, up to our view the distant summits of the European mountains. We saw the cone of Athos distinctly, bearing from us 55°. west of north. This top is so lofty, that the sun-rising is beheld on it three hours sooner than by the inhabitants of the sea-coast.* The shadow of the mountain at the solstice reached into the Agora or *Market-place* of Myrina, a town in Lemnos, which island is distant eighty-seven miles eastward.† The shore is strewed with pumice-stones, once perhaps floating from Ætna or Vesuvius, unless ejected by some nearer volcano. Indeed, the pikes both of Athos and of Tenedos suggest the idea, that their mountains have burned; and it is possible, that these, with many of the islands in this sea, may have been the produce of eruptions, which happened at a period too early to be recorded in history.

We had here no choice, but were forced to pass the night on the beach, which was sandy. The Turks constructed a half-tent for us near our boat, with the oars and sail. We now discovered that we had neglected to procure wine and candles at Tenedos. We did not, however, remain in the dark. An extemporary lamp supplied one omission. It was a cot-

* Strabo, p. 331.

† Pliny Nat. Hist. l. 4. xxiii.

ton-wick swimming in oil, on a bit of cork in a drinking-glass, suspended by a string. By this light, the Turks, sitting before us on the ground, cross-legged, endeavoured to amuse us, by teaching us the numbers in their own language, or by learning them in English. Some desired us to distinguish each by his name, *Mahmet*, *Selim*, *Mustapha*, and the like. They were liberal of their tobacco, filling their pipes from their bags, lighting and presenting them to us, as often as they saw us unprovided. Our janizary, who was called Baructer Aga, played on a Turkish instrument like a guittar. Some accompanied him with their voices, singing aloud. Their favourite ballad contained the praises of Stamboul or Constantinople. Two, and sometimes three or four, danced together, keeping time to a lively tune, until they were almost breathless. These extraordinary exertions were followed with a demand of *bac-shish*, a *reward* or *present*; which term, from its frequent use, was already become very familiar to us. We were fatigued by our rough hot walk among the ruins, and growing weary of our savages, gladly lay down to rest under the half-tent. The Turks slept by us, upon the ground, with their arms ready, in case of an alarm, except two, who had charge of the boat. The janizary, who watched, sat smoking, cross-legged, by the fire. The stars shone in a clear blue sky, shedding a calm serene light: the jackalls howled in vast packs, approaching near us, or on Mount Ida; and the waves beat gently on the shore in regular succession.

We rose with the dawn, ready dressed, hoping to get to the ruins in the cool of the morning. It was necessary to take water with us, as none could be procured there. A well, by which the peasant had agreed to leave his bucket for our use, with his ass, was known only to the janizary, and we resolved

to accompany him to the place, rather than wait for his return. Some of the Turks carried our umbrella, and earthen jar, and instruments for measuring or drawing. After going about half a mile by the sea towards Lectos, we turned to the left, and crossing the plain, and two water-courses, one of which was not quite dry, came to a foot of Mount Ida, and a vineyard. We entered, and saw nobody, but gathered as many grapes as we chose; and, loading the ass with our luggage, re-passed the plain to the great ruin at Troas, distant about an hour. Some peasants were employed in a field of Turkey wheat on the way, and their dogs worried us exceedingly.

CHAP. IX.

Policy of Alexander the Great—Alexandria Troas—Its situation—Ports—Appearance—Remains—The principal ruin—Inscriptions—The Aqueduct—Account of it—Of Atticus Herodes—No churches visible—The marbles removed.

ALEXANDER the Great, instead of marking his progress by devastation, wisely provided more lasting and honourable monuments of his passage through the countries which he subdued; causing cities and temples to be erected, and forming plans for their improvement and future prosperity. As his stay was commonly short, the execution of his noble designs was committed to the governors, whom he appointed; men of grand ideas, fitted to serve so magnificent a master. Alexandria Troas was one of eighteen cities, which bore his name.

This city was begun by Antigonus, and from him first called Antigonía; but Lysimachus, to whom, as a successor of Alexander, it devolved, changed the appellation in honour of the

deceased king. In the war with Antiochus it was eminent for its fidelity to the Romans, who conferred on it the same privileges as the cities of Italy enjoyed. Under Augustus, it received a Roman colony, and increased. It was then the only considerable place between Sigéum and Lectos, and was inferior to no city of its name, but Alexandria in Egypt.*

Alexandria Troas was seated on a hill, sloping towards the sea, and divided from M. Ida by a deep valley. On each side is an extensive plain, with water-courses. The founders, it is probable, were aware, that, like Tenedos, it would derive many advantages from its situation on the coast, near the mouth of the Hellespont.

The port of Troas, by which we landed, has a hill rising round it in a semicircle, and covered with rubbish. Many small granite pillars are standing, half buried, and much corroded by the spray. It is likely the vessels were fastened to them by ropes. A sand-bank, at the entrance, had cut off the communication with the sea, and the smaller basin was dry. The larger had water, but apparently shallow. Its margin was incrustated with spontaneous salt. Both were artificial, and intended for some small craft and galleys; ships of burthen anchoring in the road without the mole.

The city wall is standing, except toward the vineyard, but with gaps, and the battlements ruined. It was thick and solid, had square towers at regular distances, and was several miles in circumference. Besides houses, it inclosed many magnificent structures; but now appears as the boundary of a forest or neglected park. A map belonging to Mr. Wood, and made, as we supposed by a Frenchman, in 1726, served us

* Strabo, p. 593.

as a guide. The author, it is imagined, believed, as other travellers had done, that this was the site of Troy, or of a more recent city named Ilium, instead of Alexandria Troas.

Confusion cannot easily be described. Above the shore is a hollow, overgrown with trees, near which Pococke saw remains of a stadium or place for races, sunk in the ground; and higher up is the vaulted substruction or basenient of a large temple. We were told this had been lately a lurking-place of banditti; who often lay concealed here, their horses tied in rows to wooden pegs, of which many then remained in the wall. It now swarmed with bats, much bigger in size than the English, which on our entering, flitted about, innumerable; and settling, when tired, blackened the roof. Near it is a souterrain; and at some distance, vestiges of a theatre and of an odéum, or *music theatre*. These edifices were toward the centre of the city. The semicircular sweep, on which their seats ranged, is formed in the hill, with the ends vaulted. Among the rubbish, which is of great extent, are a few scraps of marble and of sculpture, with many small granite pillars.

The principal ruin, which is that seen afar off by the mariners, commands a view of the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos; and, on one side of the plain to the Hellespont, and of the mountains in Europe. Before it is a gentle descent, woody, with inequalities, to the sea, distant by computation about three miles. It was a very ample building, and, as we supposed, once the gymnasium, where the youth were instructed in learning and in the exercises. It consists of three open massive arches, towering amid walls, and a vast heap of huge materials. They are constructed with a species of stone, which is full of petrified cockle-shells, and of cavities, like honey-comb. The latter, it is likely, have occasioned the

name used, as Pococke relates, by the peasants, Baluke Seria, *the palace of honey*, which he thinks may be derived from Baal. The piers have capitals and mouldings of white marble, and the whole fabric appears to have been incrustated. Some remnants of the earthen spouts or pipes are visible. A view of it, which belonged to Mr. Wood, has been lately published.* On one side is a ruin of brick ; and behind, without the city wall, are sepulchres. One of these is of the masonry called *reticulated*, or *netted*.

A city distinguished, and flourishing by Roman favour, would not be tardy in paying the tribute of adulation to its benefactors. The peasant shewed me a marble pedestal inscribed in Latin, the characters large, plain, and well-formed. We found, near this, two other pedestals, one above half buried in rubbish, but the Turks cleared the front with their sabres to the eighth line. All three were alike, and had the same inscription, except some slight variations. They had been erected by different cities in honour of Caius Antonius Rufus, flamen or high priest of the god Julius and of the god Augustus. A maimed trunk, which we saw, was perhaps one of the statues ; and it is probable the basement, before noted, belonged to the temple dedicated to the deities whom he served, or to the goddess Rome. These marbles are about midway between the principal ruin and the beach. A Venetian officer afterwards informed us, that he had removed one of them on board his ship, then in the gulph of Smyrna, by order of the captain, while they lay at anchor near Tenedos, waiting for the bailow, whose time of residence at Constantinople was expired. We made diligent search for inscriptions, but discovered, besides

* See Essay on Homer "Ancient ruins near Troy," &c.

the abovementioned, only a small fragment of a pedestal, on which the name of Hadrian occurs.

An aqueduct begins behind the city, not far from the sepulchres, and is seen descending and crossing the country on the side next the Hellespont, extending several miles. The piers, which we measured, are five feet nine inches wide; three feet and two inches thick: the void between them, twelve feet and four inches. The arches are all broken.

The history of this noble, and once useful structure, affords an illustrious instance of imperial and private munificence. An Athenian, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, presided over the free cities of Asia. Seeing Troas destitute of commodious baths, and of water, except such as was procured from muddy wells or reservoirs made to receive rain, he wrote to the emperor Hadrian not to suffer an ancient and maritime city to be destroyed by drought, but to bestow on it three hundred myriads of drachms for water, especially as he had given far greater sums even to villages. Hadrian readily complied, and appointed him overseer of the building. The expense exceeded seven hundred myriads,* and it was represented to the emperor as a grievance, that the tribute from five hundred cities had been lavished on one in an aqueduct. Herodes, in reply, begged him not to be displeased, that having gone beyond his estimate, he had presented the overplus of the sum to his son, and he to the city.

We shall have occasion to mention Atticus Herodes again, and his name will occur often in the account of our travels in Greece. His grandfather, Hipparchus, had been accused of tyranny, his estate confiscated, and his son, Julius Atticus, re-

* Five hundred myriads amount to 161408*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* English.

duced to poverty. Julius discovered a treasure in one of the houses, which belonged to him, by the theatre at Athens. The quantity was so great, that his apprehension exceeded his joy, and he wrote to Nerva the emperor, desiring to know his pleasure concerning it. Nerva replied "use what you have found;" and, on a fresh application, "abuse if you will, what Mercury has given you." Julius, thus possessed of unexpected affluence, married a wife with a vast dowry. His riches were inherited by their son, Atticus Herodes, who was born at Marathon, carefully educated under the most eminent masters, and became so famous for learning and extemporary eloquence, that perhaps no sophist ever surpassed him in brilliancy of reputation. He was raised to the first dignities of Athens, and to the consulate, with Torquatus, at Rome, in the year of our Lord one hundred and forty three. His generosity equalled his wealth, and was as extensive as noble. Many temples were enriched by his magnificent offerings. His costly buildings adorned Asia, Greece, and Italy. Statues were erected to him, and the cities vied with each other in extolling their common benefactor. Several of them still retain monuments of his splendour, and records of his liberality.

The Christian religion was planted early at Troas. In the beginning of the fifth century, the bishop Silvanus, was required to deliver a vessel from a dæmon, which was believed to detain it, as it could not be launched. It was intended for transporting large columns, and was of great size. Going down to the beach he prayed, and taking hold of a rope, called on the multitude to assist, when the ship readily obeyed him, and hurried into the sea.* But the churches have been so long demolished, that the traces of them are uncertain.

* See Scorzomen vii. 37. Socrates. l. i.

The desolation of this place was begun, and probably completed, before the extinction of the Greek empire. Many houses and public structures at Constantinople have since been raised with its materials. We found only a few inconsiderable remnants of white marble by the principal ruin, where formerly was a vast heap. Some pieces in the water by the port, and two large granite columns, were perhaps removed to the shore to be ready for embarkation. The magazine is yet far from being exhausted. The name Troas was not become obsolete in the year 1389.

CHAP X:

An accident—At the vineyard—In want of provisions—Are joined by the owner of the vineyard—In fear of banditti.

WE were employed at Troas chiefly in taking a plan and two views of the principal ruin. We dined under a spreading tree before the arcade; and on the second day had just resumed our labour, when we were almost reduced to fly with precipitation. One of the Turks, coming to us, emptied the ashes from his pipe, and a spark of fire fell unobserved in the grass, which was long, parched by the sun, and inflammable like tinder. A brisk wind soon kindled a blaze, which withered in an instant the leaves of the bushes and trees in its way, seized the branches and roots, and devoured all before it with a prodigious crackling, and noise, and with a thick smoke; leaving the ground black, and the stones hot. We were much alarmed, as a general conflagration of the country seemed likely to ensue. The Turks with their sabres cut down

boughs, and we all began buffetting the flames, which were at length subdued ; the ruins somewhat retarding their progress, and enabling us to combat them more effectually. The struggle lasted above an hour, and a considerable tract of ground was laid waste. Close by was an area with dry matted grass, where no exertion could have delayed the fire, but in a moment it would have acquired the mastery, and must have ravaged uncontrolled, until repelled by the wind. The janizary signalized his prowess in this engagement. The sun shone exceedingly hot, and we were all covered with smoke and smut.

In the evening we returned to the vineyard, and found our cook, with two or three of the Turks, busy in a hovel, roasting a kid on a wooden spit or stake. We sate down with our Jew and janizary, and the flesh proved excellent. Our table was a mat on the ground, beneath a spreading vine. Our men formed a like group at a little distance from us. Soon after we fell asleep, and the starry heaven was our canopy.

Early in the morning the ass was loaded again. We passed the day at the ruins, with some discontent from keen appetites, not duly gratified. The wine and provisions, which we expected from Tenedos, did not arrive in time; and the peasant, whom we had sent to a village named Chemali, could procure only a couple of fowls, with some eggs, which he broke in bringing. This accident compelled our Jews to fast, their law not permitting them to eat of what we had, and which supplied us with a very scanty meal.

After completing our survey as well as the prudent caution of our Jew and Turks would permit, we returned to the vineyard, where we now found the owner, a man with a venerable beard. We conversed with him, our Jew serving us as

an interpreter. He was a stone-cutter, and shewed us a pestle and mortar as specimens of his abilities ; with a mutilated head of a female statue ; a piece of load-stone, and a parcel of ordinary copper coins, among which was a small medal of the emperor Trajan, with a horse feeding on the reverse, the legend COL. AVG. and on the exergue TR. A or *Colonia Augusta Troas*. He had also a stone of a ring, of a red colour, inscribed ΔH
 $\diamond \Upsilon$ *of Demetrius* ; and a brown one, with a lion tearing a bull.

Both our jew and janizary had expressed more than once a diffidence of our safety. Our fire arms had been all regularly inspected ; and this evening in particular our men betrayed plain symptoms of uneasiness and apprehension, which we imputed to some intelligence of banditti not remote from us, given them by our new companion.

CHAP. XI.

Invited to Chemali—We set out on foot—The hot-baths—Arrive at Chemali—Remains of antiquity—Once Colona.

WHEN we lay by the sea-side, we had observed a fire blazing on an eminence before us, or toward Lectos. We were told, it was a signal for a boat designed to be laden clandestinely with corn, the exportation of which is prohibited under severe penalties. One of the men had approached and viewed us with a degree of attention, which we disliked ; the people of this district bearing a very bad character. At midnight the

aga of Chemali, who was concerned in this contraband business, had come prancing along the shore with two Turks, armed, on long-tailed horses, to inquire who we were. The janizary entertained him apart by the fire with a pipe and coffee, after which he mounted and galloped back, leaving us an invitation to see an old building at his village. Our host informed us, that by the way were hot baths worthy our notice, and that Chemali was distant about two hours. This mode of computing by time prevails universally in these countries, and is taken from the caravans, which move an uniform pace, about three or four miles in an hour.

In the morning after breakfasting on grapes, figs, white honey in the comb, and coffee, we set out in a body for the village, a Turk or two remaining with the boat, and our janizary, whose right eye was inflamed, at the vineyard. We entered a narrow track worn by camels, the sand deep and loose; and saw several of these animals single, lying down, feeding with their burthens on their backs, or moving pensively in a long train, the leader mounted on a low ass; and also a flock of goats, and a few sheep and oxen. We came to a river, which winds from the deep valley behind Troas, and has been mentioned before. The stream here was now shallow, but abounding in small fish. It had overflowed nearer the sea, and formed a little marsh.

The hot spring rises in the slope of the hill of Troas, about four miles from the shore; its bearing 30°. south of west. The bed resembles rusty iron in colour, and the edges were incrust-ed with white salt. After running a few paces, it enters a basin about nine feet square, within a mean hovel roofed with boughs. This is the bath appropriated to women. In a gully there, Fahrenheit's thermometer rose to one hundred and

thirteen. The current passing from hence, unseen, is admitted by channels into another basin. In this the thermometer rose to one hundred and ten; and in two small veins to one hundred and thirty, and forty two. It was before in the air and shade at eighty two. The water has the colour of whey; the taste is brackish; and this quality it communicates to the river below. We supposed it to be strongly impregnated with iron ore. One of the basins was choked up in 1610; and not long ago, we were told, the spring had entirely disappeared, for nine years, after an earthquake. It is reckoned very efficacious in the rheumatism, the leprosy, and all cutaneous disorders. They first scour the skin by rolling in the bed of the river, which is, a fine sand, and full of holes or cavities, like graves, made for the body. By each inclosure is a shed, where they sleep after bathing. In the court-wall of one is inserted the trunk of a large statue; and higher on the hill are the ruins and vestiges of the ancient sepulchres of Troas.

We crossed the river again, and in fifteen minutes entered among the roots of Mount Ida, which hitherto had been on our right hand, but now faced us. We had an extensive view of the country, and from one summit the pike of Tenedos bore 30^m west of north. The tops of the mountain are innumerable. New ones arose continually before us, as we advanced; and low oaks and bushes are interspersed among the vast naked rocks. Coming near Chemali we saw several windmills; Turkey wheat standing; and, on the slopes of the hills, a few vineyards. The men were at work abroad, but the doorways of the clay-cottages were filled with women, their faces muffled, and with children looking at us. Our men purchased of them some melons, with eggs, which they fried in oil.

The mosque, which we had taken this long walk to examine,

instead of proving, as we had hoped, some ancient building or temple, contained nothing to reward our labour. The portico, under which we stopped, is supported by broken columns, and in the walls are marble fragments. The door is carved with Greek characters so exceedingly complicated that I could neither copy nor decipher them. We supposed it had formerly been a church. In the court was a plain chair of marble, almost entire; and under the post of a shed, a pedestal, with a moulding cut along one side, and an inscription in Latin, which shews it once belonged to a statue of Nero, nephew of the emperor Tiberius.* Many scraps of Greek and Latin occur in the old burying grounds, which are very extensive. We saw more marble about this inconsiderable village, than at Troas.

Colo  , *The Hills*, was a town on the continent opposite to Tenedos. Antigonus removed the inhabitants to Troas, but the place was not entirely abandoned. It seems to have recovered under the Romans, and has survived the new city; still, as may be collected from the site and marbles, lingering on in the Turkish village Chemali.

CHAP. XII.

Coast by Troas—Eneiki  —Giurkioi or Sig  um—Antiquities at the church—Account of Sig  um—The famous Sig  an stone part of a pilaster—The disposition of the lines on it—Of the Greek alphabet—Age of the first inscription—Age of the second—It lies neglected.

FROM Chemali we returned to the vineyard, purposing to embark as soon as possible; the danger from banditti increas-

* Inscript. Ant. p. 4.

ing with our stay in these parts, which had already produced a general uneasiness; but finding the wind strong and contrary, we went back to the hot baths with our thermometer. In the mean time, the aga of Chemali sent word, that he designed visiting us in the evening, and desired our acceptance of a kid. His men, however, had carried off the intended present, on hearing from the janizary that we were going away. We were glad to avoid seeing him, as we expected he would prove but a troublesome guest. We hastened to get on board, coasted by Troas in the dusk; and, after rowing about five miles, landed and slept on the beach. The solemn night was rendered yet more awful by the melancholy howlings of numerous jackalls, in packs, hunting, as we supposed, their prey.

We embarked again three hours before the break of day, and rowed by a rocky shore until near seven. We then landed at Enekiói, or *New Town*, now a Greek village, so miserable, as scarcely to furnish grapes, wine, eggs, and oil to fry them, sufficient for our breakfast. It stands very high, and has been more considerable. By the church door is a Latin sepulchral inscription,* and Pliny mentions a town in the Troad, called Nea, or *New Town*, which perhaps was on this spot. There was an image of Minerva, on which no rain ever fell; and it was said that sacrifices left there did not putrify.

We left Enekiói, and landed again about mid-day on the beach without the Hellespont, not far from the Sigéan promontory, and ascending by a steep track to Giaurkiói, a Greek village, once the city Sigéum, high above the sea, and now resembling Enekiói in wretchedness as well as in situation. We were here accommodated with a small apartment in one of the

* Inscript. Ant. p. 4.

cottages, but it required caution to avoid falling through the floor. The family, to which it belonged, was as poor as oppressed. The thin-voiced women scolding and howling in the court, we inquired the reason, and were told, they had paid a piaster for the privilege of keeping a hog; that the Turk, who collected this money for the aga, demanded ten pereaas as his fee, that they were unable or unwilling to gratify him, and he was carrying the son to prison.

The high hill of Giaurkioi was the acropolis or citadel of Sigéum; and a mean church on the brow, toward Mount Ida, occupies the site of the Athenéum or temple of Minerva; of which the scattered marbles by it are remains. The famous Sigéan inscription lies on the right hand, as you enter it; and on the left is part of a pedestal, of fine white marble; each serving as a seat. The latter is carved in basso relievo.* The Greeks were accustomed to consign their infants to the tutular care of some deity; the midwife, dressed in white with her feet bare, carrying the child to be presented on the fifth day after its birth. The Romans had the same superstition, and Caligula is on record as having placed his daughter, Livia Drusilla, in the lap of Minerva.† That usage is the subject of the sculpture. The goddess is sitting, as described by Homer, in her temple in Troy. A little chest, borne by one of the figures, may be supposed to contain incense, or the offerings which accompanied this ceremony. A marble, once repositied in the precincts of the temple, and now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, was found within the same building. It contains a decree, made by the Sigéans, two hundred

* It is about five feet nine inches long. See Lady Mary W. Montague. Letter XLIV. and a plate in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

† Suetonius c. 25.

and seventy-eight years before the Christian æra, in honour of king Antiochus ; and enacts, among other articles, the erecting in the temple a golden statue of him on horseback, on a pedestal of white marble; with an inscription commemorating his religious regard for the temple, and stiling him the saviour of the people. This in the year 1718 was purchased of the Papas, or Greek priest, by Edward Wortley Montague Esq. then going ambassador to Constantinople.* The place in the wall, from which it was removed, is still visible.

The city Sigéum stood on a slope, now bare, opposite to the part where we ascended. It was founded by the Mitylenéans of Lesbos. The Athenians seized it under Phryno, Pittacus sailed after him, and was defeated in a battle. It was then the poet Alcæus fled, throwing away his shield, which the Athenians suspended in the temple. Periander of Corinth was chosen umpire. The Mitylenéans afterwards recovered Sigéum, but it was taken from them by Pisistratus, who made his son Hegesistratus tyrant there. The Iliéans then got possession of it, and by them it was subverted, perhaps about the time of Antiochus, as the name of the Sigéan people has been purposely erased in the decree above mentioned.

The temple at Sigéum was of remote antiquity, if not coeval with the city, which is said to have been built from the ruins of Troy. The Iliéans probably spared that edifice from a reverence for the deity, or no fragments would now have remained. The celebrated inscription is on part of a pilaster, eight feet seven inches long; one foot and something more than six inches wide, and above ten inches thick. It is broken at the bottom. In the top is a hole three inches and a half

* Chishull *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 49.

long, three wide, and above two deep. This served to unite it firmly with the upper portion, or the capital, by receiving a bar of wood or metal; a customary mode of construction, which rendered the fabric as solid as the materials were durable. The stone was given to the temple, as appears from the inscription on it, by Phanodicus or Proconnesus, a city and island not far from Sigéum, famous for its quarries of marble. Such donations were common, and we shall have occasion to mention several.

The lines in both inscriptions range from the left to the right, and from the right to the left, alternately. This mode of disposition was called *Boustrophédon*, the lines turning on the marble as oxen do in ploughing. It was used before Periander; and by Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, his contemporary.

The Greek alphabet, as imported by Cadmus from Phœnicia,* consisted of sixteen letters. Palamedes, the rival of Ulysses, who was put to death in the Greek camp before Troy, added four. Simonides of Ceos increased the number to twenty-four. This person was a favourite of Hipparchus, brother of Hegistratus, the tyrant of Segéum, and lived with him at Athens.

We may infer from the first inscription on the pilaster that Phanodicus and the temple, to which he contributed, existed before the improvement made by Simonides, for it exhibits only Cadméan and Palamedéan characters: and, also that the structure was raised under the Mitylenéans; for it is in their dialect or the Æolian.

The second inscription has the letters of Simonides, and was engraved under the Athenians, as may be collected from its

* See Chishull's learned commentary.

Atticisms ; and, it is likely, about the time of Hegesistratus ; the method of arranging the lines not being changed, nor the memory of the person, whom it records, if he were not then living, become obsolete.

We copied these inscriptions very carefully,* and not without deep regret, that a stone, so singularly curious, which has preserved to us a specimen of writing antiquated above two thousand years ago, should be suffered to lie so neglected and exposed. Above half a century has elapsed, since it was first discovered, and it still remains, in the open air, a seat for the Greeks, destitute of a patron to rescue it from barbarism, and obtain its removal into the safer custody of some private museum, or, which is rather to be desired, some public repository.†

CHAP. XIII.

*At Giaurkioi—Prospect of the plain—Farther account of it—
News of the consul—Our plan disconcerted—The evening—
Barrows of Achilles, &c.—At Chomkali.*

It was Saturday when we arrived at Giaurkioi, and our Jews were prohibited, by their law, from going out of the vil-

* Inscript. Ant. pl. 1.

† It is to be wished that a premium were offered, and the undertaking recommended to commanders of ships in the Levant trade. They have commonly interpreters to negotiate for them, with men, leavers, ropes, and the other requisites; besides instruments or tools, by which the stone might be broken, if necessary. By a proper application of all-prevailing gold, it is to be believed they might gain the permission or connivance of the papas and persons concerned. It should be done with secrecy. The experiment is easily made, when they are at Tenedos, or wind-bound near the mouth of the Hellespont.

lage. Our janizary had bound over his eye, which was much inflamed, a piece of empty honey-comb, and the yolk of a boiled egg, but neither receipe had relieved his torture. Our mariners, except one or two, were employed in rowing the boat to Chomkali, the town by the Asiatic castle; the place, where we had landed, being exposed to winds, and insecure from the force and rapidity of the current. Some Turks of Chomkali visited our companions. Their conversation, as was evident, turned on us, our dress, manners, and pursuits, which must have appeared to them strange and unaccountable. They were fond of hearing us repeat the words of their language, which we had learned, and called for this display of our talents so often, that we began to think them troublesome and impertinent.

From the brow by the church we had in view several barrows, and a large cultivated plain, parched, and of a russet colour, excepting some plantations of cotton. On it were flocks of sheep and of goats; oxen unmuzzled treading out corn; droves of cattle and horses, some feeding, others rolling in the wide bed, which receives the Scamander and Simois united. Near the mouth was lively verdure, with trees; and, on the same side as Sigéum, the castle and Chomkali. By the water many women were employed, their faces muffled, washing linen, or spreading it to dry; with children playing on the banks. It is proper here to inform the reader, that Ilium or *New Troy*, stood above the junction of the two streams; and that the Simois, which has been mistaken for the Scamander, was the river next Sigéum and Cape Baba or Lectos.

When the heat of noon had subsided, a moor or black, who was known to our janizary, with one of our Turks, armed, was ready to attend us. We descended from the church into the

plain, and crossing the river above the women, to avoid giving offence, walked about two hours up into the country. We saw in this ramble some villages consisting of a few huts; and were worried more than once by the dogs, which are kept to guard the flocks and herds from wild beasts. They were very fierce, and not easily repelled by our mussulmen. The ground, in many places, appeared to have been swampy, and had channels in it worn by floods and torrents. The Turkey wheat standing in the fields had the ears turned yellow, and seemed ripe. Pieces of marble and broken columns lay scattered about. The bed of the river was very wide, the banks steep, with thickets of tamarisk growing in it. We saw small fish in the water, and on the margin found a live tortoise, the first I had seen. I passed the stream several times without being wet-shod. We had advanced in sight of some barrows, which are beyond the Scamander, and of a large conical hill, more remote, at the foot of Mount Ida, anciently called Calicollone, when the sun declining apace, to my great regret, we were obliged to go back.

A rumour had prevailed that the consul, after parting from us at Tenedos, had been attacked by robbers in his way to Gallipoli. At our return to the village we found this intelligence confirmed, and our Jews in affliction. He had gone with company in a boat from the Dardanell. They landed to dine, as usual, ashore; when the banditti rushed suddenly down upon them, and soon overcame them. The consul, as we were told, ran into the water up to his chin, where they still fired at him, and he was much hurt.

We had purposed tarrying a few days at Giaurkioi, and after recovering from our late fatigue, to traverse and examine the plain minutely; and to penetrate to the sources of the Si-

mois and Scamander in the recesses of Mount Ida ; but now we had danger to apprehend from the desperate parties ranging about the country : our conductor was desirous to get back without delay to the distressed family of his brother, where his presence was required, and the indisposition of our janizary, which increased, made our compliance with his wishes as necessary as it was reasonable.

Our cottage was not far from the brow of the hill, on which the church stands, and we repaired thither to enjoy again, before sun-set, the delightful prospect. A long train of low carriages, resembling ancient cars, was then coming as it were in procession from Mount Ida. Each was wreathed round with wicker work, had two wheels, and conveyed a nodding load of green wood, which was drawn through the dusty plain by yoked oxen or buffaloes, with a slow and solemn pace, and with an ugly screaming noise.

Early in the morning we descended the slope, on which Sigéum stood, going to our boat, which waited at Chomkali, distant about half an hour from Giaurkioi by land. After walking eight minutes, we came between two barrows, standing each in a vineyard or inclosure. One was that of Achilles and Patroclus ; the other, which was on our right hand, that of Antilochus, son of Nestor. This had a fragment or two of white marble on the top, which I ascended ; as had also another on our right hand, not far off, which, if I mistake not, was that of Penelcus, one of the leaders of the Bæotians, who was slain by Eurypylus. We had likewise in view the barrow of Ajax Telamon ; and at a distance from it on the side next Lectos, that of Æsyetes, mentioned in Homer. From thence the road was between vineyards, cotton-fields, pomegranate, and fig-trees ; the verdure and freshness about the mouth of the river

contrasted with the parched naked plain surrounding it, and was as agreeable as striking.

The town of Chomkali appeared to advantage after the wretched places, in which we had lately been ; but is mean, and not large. We tarried there at a coffee-house, while our men purchased the necessary provisions. We saw in the street two capitals of columns excavated, and serving as mortars to bruise wheat in. The water-cisterns are sarcophagi or ancient coffins, with vents. On one was a Greek inscription, not legible ; the stone rough. All these have been removed from adjacent ruins ; for even the site of Chomkali and its castle is of modern origin.

CHAP. XIV.

Land in the Chersonese—A panegyris, or general assembly of Greeks—Their musicians—Their church—Arrive at the inner castle—Character of our Turks.

WE had intended to return by the coast of Asia, hoping it might afford us something worthy observation ; but, when we came to the wherry, the rais or master refused, preferring the European side of the Hellespont, because, as he urged, the stream there is less violent. This point being settled, not much to our satisfaction, we were rowed over to the Chersonese, where we landed above Eleüs, within a point nearly parallel to Mastusia, and its castle, and at the mouth of the hollow bay Cœlos, which lies between them, and has been mentioned before. We could discern some buildings among trees at the bottom of the bay, with piers of an aqueduct ; and on the rock near us were vestiges of a fortress.

We had not been long on shore, before our attention was engaged by the appearance of many boats, on the Hellespont, steering towards us, and full of people. The passengers landing, as they arrived, ascended a ridge near us in a long train, men and boys, women with infants, and persons decrepit from age. On enquiry, we were informed, that this was a great holiday among the Greeks, none of whom would be absent from the panegyris or *General Assembly*. The Feast of Venus and Adonis by Sestos did not occasion a more complete desertion of the villages and towns, on both sides the Hellespont, when Leander of Abydos first beheld, and became enamoured with his mistress Hero.

It is the custom of the Greeks, on these days, after fulfilling their religious duties, to indulge in festivity. Two of their musicians, seeing us sitting under a shady tree, where we had dined, came and played before us, while some of our Turks danced. One of their instruments resembled a common tabor, but was larger and thicker. It was sounded with two sticks, the performer beating it with a slender one underneath, and at the same time with a bigger, which had a round knob at the end, on the top. This was accompanied by a pipe with a reed for the mouth-piece, and below it a circular rim of wood, against which the lips of the player came. His cheeks were much inflated, and the notes so various, shrill, and disagreeable, as to remind me of a famous composition designed for the ancient Aulos or flute, as was fabled by Minerva.* It was an imitation of the squalling and wailing, made by the serpent-haired Gorgons, when Perseus maimed the triple sisterhood, by severing from their common body the head of Medusa.

* See Pindar. (B)

Our Turks and the musicians, when tired, expected, as usual, bac-shish, or a present. After satisfying them, we went up to the place, at which the Greeks were assembled. It was about a quarter of a mile from the shore by a church of the *Panagia*, or Virgin Mary, for so they called some walls of stones piled, without a roof, and stuck, on this solemnity, with wax-candles lighted, and with small tapers. Close by was an aperture in the surface of the ground, with a spring running under the rock. This cavity, at which a portrait hung of the Virgin, painted on wood, was also illuminated; and some priests, who took money of those, who came for water, were preparing to perform mass near it. We were told it was a place of great sanctity. The multitude was sitting under half-tents, with store of melons and grapes, beside lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provisions.

We left this lively scene, with some regret, and re-coasting the rough European shore, landed not far from the town and castle, on a spot which we found was a favourite place of resort, being noted for its verdure and shade, and for cool water; each a source of pleasure, and as refreshing as grateful in climates of a warm temperature. Here a fire was presently kindled, and coffee made, and the whole company seemed to experience much self-enjoyment. We then returned on board, and our men tugged against the stream, until we were considerably above the two castles and their towns, when the tide set us over, and we landed in Asia, on the beach, from which we had embarked on our expedition.

On quitting the boat, we took leave of our mussulmen, upon the whole well satisfied with their attention and civility. The Rais was an obstinate hairy savage, as rough in figure as a

bear. In their disputes some had displayed great ferocity, drawing their sabres and threatening; but some were of far gentler manners. They were all temperate in their diet; cheerfully sating their hunger with fruits, hard coarse bread, salt cheese, or sour curds called *Caimac*; and contentedly quenching their thirst with water. Our janizary, Baructer-Aga, often requested we would speak well of him and his nation in England. He was tall, and polished in person and dress, and an excellent singer. Our Turks respected him, and he quelled their animosities, interposing with authority. He was exact, and regular in performing the customary ablutions, and failed not to rehearse his prayers at the stated times, then spreading his cloak on the ground, prostrating his body, and touching it with his forehead; or standing in a suppliant posture, with his hands composed, deeply intent on his duty, and to appearance, equally devout and humble.

CHAP. XV.

Our embarrassment—Arrival of an English ship—Its destination—We embark for Scio—Quick passage.

THE banditti, who infested these parts, were represented to us as numerous and cruel. We were assured, that in our late excursion, we had been fortunate, rather than prudent; danger was now apparent, and to curiosity we must add caution. The consul had been attacked going to Gallipoli, about two hours from home. We had been told of ruins, which we supposed to be remains of Abydos, on that side; but were warned not to venture that way by his recent peril. We had

room to apprehend, that we might encounter some flying or lurking parties, and be intercepted or cut off, if we took the contrary direction, and, as had been proposed, set out on horseback to explore the region between the Scamander and Simois. We were much perplexed by our situation, and unable to determine how to proceed.

Night coming on, the recollection of our past sufferings here made us desire to sleep in another house ; but the evil we wished to avoid was not peculiar to that of the consul, and we had reason to long for the sea-shore or our vineyard again. The wind in the morning proved high, but we were too impatient, under present grievances, to tarry at this place, and resolved to get to Chomkali, the town we had lately left, and to pass on by sea to Smyrna. It remained only to purchase provisions, with utensils for cooking, and other necessities for the voyage, and to engage a boat, with proper servants and an interpreter ; when a messenger from the beach announced the arrival of a ship with English colours.

We had scarcely time to congratulate each other, on this unexpected news, before the captain, whose name was Jolly, entered the room. He informed us that he had sailed with his ship the *Delawar*, not many hours since, from Gallipoli, where the *Anglicana* had entered not long before ; that he was come to an anchor in the road, all vessels from Constantinople stopping there, to be searched for contraband goods or fugitive slaves ; that he was bound for Cyprus and England, but should touch at Scio, from whence we might easily get to Smyrna.

We were now relieved from our embarrassment. In the afternoon we took leave of our late companion, and the Jewish family, and embarked on board the *Delawar*. We were followed by a stately well-dressed Turk in a boat. The captain

while the hold was examined, entertained him and some of his officers in the cabin, with pipes, coffee, and sherbet. When this ceremony was ended, we set sail with the wind fresh and fair. The pike of Tenedos appeared over the main-land of Asia. We soon cleared the Hellespont, and passing by the mouth of the Scamander, had a farewell view of a part of the Troad, which deserves to be carefully traversed; which I quitted with all the reluctance of inflamed curiosity; and which I then hoped we might be able to revisit with better fortune from Smyrna.

The satisfaction we derived from the sudden change of our situation for the better, received great addition from the liberal behaviour of our new captain, by whom we were elegantly entertained, and after supper accommodated with clean bedding, on the cabin-floor, which afforded us much refreshment. The prosperous gale continued, and the ship made great way.

We sailed by the western side of the island Mitylene in the night; and passing the mouth of the gulph of Smyrna, entered the channel of Scio, and before mid-day cast anchor in the road off the city.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Scio—Its modern history—Reduced by the Turks—The town—Greek women—Number of dogs—Manner of bathing—The Consul, &c.—Parties—The wines—The lentiscus or mastic tree—The Antiquities—The temple of Cybele.

THE island Chios, now Scio, is by Strabo reckoned nine hundred stadia, or one hundred and twelve miles and a half, in circuit; and about four hundred stadia, or fifty miles, from

the island Mitylene. The principal mountain, called anciently Pelinæus, presents to view a long, lofty range of bare rock, reflecting the sun ; but the recesses at its feet are diligently cultivated, and reward the husbandman by their rich produce. The slopes are clothed with vines. The groves of lemon, orange, and citron-trees, regularly planted, at once perfume the air with the odour of their blossoms, and delight the eye with their golden fruit. Myrtles, and jassmines are interspersed, with olive and palm trees, and cypresses. Amid these the tall minarets rise, and white houses glitter, dazzling the beholder.

Scio shared in the calamities, which attended the destruction of the Greek empire.* In the year 1093, when robbers and pirates were in possession of several considerable places, Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, took the city. The Greek admiral, endeavouring to reduce it for the emperor Alexis, made a breach in the wall ; and he came to its relief from Smyrna with a fleet and eight thousand men, but soon after abandoned it in the night. In 1306 this was one of the islands, which suffered from the exactions of the Grand Duke Roger, general of the Roman armies. The city was then seized by the Turks, who came before it with thirty ships, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In 1346 it was taken by some galleys, fitted out by thirty noble Genoese. A fleet of sixty vessels was sent by the Sultan in 1394 to burn it, and the towns adjacent, and to ravage the islands and sea-coast. The city purchased peace from Mahomet the second in 1455 ; giving a sum of money, and agreeing to pay tribute yearly. Scio experienced evil, but if it be compared with the sufferings of some other places, in these times of rapine and violence, fortune

* See Modern Universal History.

will seem to have concurred with the partiality of nature, and to have distinguished this as a favourite island.

The Genoese continued in possession of Scio, about two hundred and forty years. They were deprived of it in 1566, during the siege of Malta, by the Turkish admiral, who garrisoned it for Sultan Solymán; but the Chiotes, in general, were still indulged with numerous and extraordinary privileges. They consisted of two parties, differing in their religious tenets; one of the Greek persuasion, which acknowledges the patriarch of Constantinople as their head; the other of the Latin or papists which enjoyed a free toleration under the Turks, their priests celebrating mass as in Christendom, bearing the sacraments to the sick, going in solemn procession, habited, beneath canopies, with censers in their hands, to the year 1694. The Venetians then attacked and took the castle, but abandoned it on a defeat of their fleet near the Spalmadore islands, which lie in the channel between Scio and the continent. The Latins who had assisted them, dreaded the punishment, which their ingratitude deserved; and the prime families, with the bishop, fled and settled in the Morea, which had been recently conquered by the Venetians. The Turks seized the churches, abolished the Genoese dress, and imposed on their vassals badges of their subjection; obliging them, among other articles, to alight from their horses at the city-gate, and at the approach of any, even of the meanest mussulman.

The town of Scio* and its vicinity resembles, from the sea, Genoa and its territory, as it were in miniature. The ancient city had a good port, and stations for eighty ships. The present, which occupies its site, beneath Pelinæus, is large, well

* See Views. Le Brun, p. 168.

built and populous. A naked hill rises above it, with a house or two on the summit, where was the acropolis or citadel of the Greeks, and afterwards of the Genoese. We found men at work there, digging up the old foundations for the materials. The port has an ordinary or ruinous mole, like that of Tenedos, almost level with the water. The mouth is narrow, and beset with lurking rocks and shoals. It was about noon when we landed. We went to the house of the English consul, who was in the country. A Greek, called Antonio, his servant, and the dragoman or interpreter belonging to the captain, who was with us, procured some fowls, and eggs, with wine and fruit, for our dinner. In the evening we walked over the town, which appeared to us as a collection of petty palaces, after the hovels of mud we had lately seen on the continent.

The beautiful Greek girls are the most striking ornaments of Scio. Many of these were sitting at the doors and windows, twisting cotton or silk, or employed in spinning and needle-work, and accosted us with familiarity, bidding us welcome, as we passed. The streets on Sundays and holidays are filled with them in groups. They wear short petticoats reaching only to their knees, with white silk or cotton hose. Their head-dress, which is peculiar to the island, is a kind of Turban, the linen so white and thin it seemed snow. Their slippers are chiefly yellow, with a knot of red fringe at the heel. Some wore them fastened with a thong. Their garments were of silk of various colours; and their whole appearance so fantastic and lively, as to afford us much entertainment. The Turks inhabit a separate quarter, and their women are concealed.

We returned to the ship at night, the dragoman and Chiote lighting us with long paper lanterns to the boat, which waited

at the beach. A great number of gaunt dogs were collected by the shambles, which are at the out-skirt of the town. They barked furiously at us, but were chid and repelled by our guides, whose language they understood. The public, we were told, maintains them; and they assemble, when all is quiet. These animals, it is observable, were of old a like nuisance. They seem the Lemures of the ancients, who used to pacify them with food. The Arcadians, in particular, were accustomed to carry bread from their table on account of the nightly terrors, or the dogs, which they expected to assail them in the streets.*

The next morning we were set on shore again. I accompanied Captain Jolly to the principal Bagnio or public bathing-place, a very noble edifice, with ample domes, all of marble; and shall attempt to give an account of the mode of bathing. We undressed in a large square room, where linen is hung to dry, and the keeper attends with his servants. We had each a long towel given us to wrap round our middle, and a pair of tall wooden pattens to walk in. We were led through a warm narrow passage into the inner room, which is yet more spacious, and made very hot by stoves, which are concealed. In this was a water-bath, and recesses, with partitions on the sides. The pavement in the centre under the dome was raised, and covered with linen cloths, on which we were bid to lie down. We were soon covered with big drops of sweat, and two men naked, except the waist, then entered, and began kneading our flesh; tracing all the muscles and cleansing the pores. By the time they had finished, our joints were sufficiently suppld, and they commenced the formidable

* See note, *Vitruvius*, l. 6. c. 5.

operation of snapping all of them, not only the toes, ancles, knees, fingers, and the like, but the vertebræ of the back, and the breast; one while wrenching our necks; then turning us on our bellies, crossing our arms behind us, and placing their right knee between our shoulders. The feats they perform cannot easily be described, and are hardly credible. When this was over, we were rubbed with a mohair-bag fitted to the hand, which, like the ancient strigil, brings away the gross matter perspired. We were then led each to a recess, supplied by pipes with hot and cold water, which we tempered to our liking. The men returned with soap-lather and tow in a wooden bowl, with which they cleaned the skin, and then poured a large quantity of warm water on our heads. Our spirits were quite exhausted, when they covered us with dry cloths and led us back to the first room, where beds were ready for us. On waking after a gentle slumber, we were presented each with a lighted pipe and a dish of coffee. We rose much refreshed, and as the ladies of the Aga or Turkish governor were expected there, hastened away. The common Turks and Greeks pay a very small gratuity for the use of the bath, which they frequent once a week or oftener. I have sometimes been regaled, while in the inner room, with ripe fruits and sherbet, and with incense burning to scent the air. One of my companions repeatedly partook with me in this innocent and wholesome luxury at Smyrna and at Athens.

On our return from the bath we found the consul at home. He was a spare shrewd Greek, a direct contrast to the fat, open, hospitable Jew our host at the Dardanell. He presented us with pomegranates of a particular species, for which the island is noted. The kernels are free from stones. It is usual

to bring them to table in a plate, sprinkled with rose water. These are excellent fruit, but accounted astringent. An English gentlemen named Bracebridge had come with the consul to visit us. He was an elderly person, and had been absent some years from his native country, for the benefit of a warmer climate. After much wandering, he gave the preference to this island above any of the places which he had tried. Our captain, who took leave of us at night, intending to sail in the morning, was detained some time longer by foul weather.

We soon found that the old religious parties still subsist with unextinguished animosity, each sect cherishing insuperable hatred, and intriguing to ruin its adversary. We saw the Latins at their worship in the chapel of the vice-consul of the French nation, which was very neat, well filled, especially with women, and handsomely illuminated. The English consul, who served some other European powers, was much haunted by priests of that church, and had a patent of knighthood from the pope. The wines of Scio have been celebrated as aiding digestion, as nutritive and pleasant. They were much esteemed by the Romans. Hortensius hoarded them; and Cæsar, who was as generous as magnificent, dispensed them freely to the people at his triumphs and sacrifices. It is related, that the culture of the vine was introduced by a son of Bacchus, called CEnopion, or *The Wine-Drinker*, whose sepulchre remained here in the second century; and that red-wine, with the method of making these liquors, was invented by the Chians. A rugged tract, named Arvisia, was particularly famous for its produce, which has been extolled as ambrosial, and styled a new nectar. Mr. Bracebridge, whom we visited at his house near the town, treated us with a variety of choice specimens; and it may

be questioned, if either the flavour or qualities, once so commended, be at all impaired. In several we found the former truly admirable.

To the peculiar possession of the Arvisian vine, now no longer talked of, has succeeded the profitable culture of the *Lentiscus* or mastic-tree. This employs, as we were told, twenty one villages, which are required to provide as many thousand oke[†] of gum annually, for the use of the seraglio at Constantinople. They procure it by boring the trunks with a shall sharp iron, in the summer months. In October their harvest is conveyed with music into the city, and lodged in the castle. The *cadi* and officers, who attend, while it is weighed, have each a certain portion for their perquisite. The remainder is delivered to the farmer or planter, to be disposed of for his own advantage. The Greeks of these villages have a separate governor, and enjoy many privileges. In particular, they are allowed to wear a turban of white linen, and their churches have each a bell to call them to prayers, an indulgence of which they speak with much glee. The Asiatic ladies are excessively fond of this gum, which they chew greedily, believing it good for the breath, and attributing to it various other excellent properties.

Prosperity is less friendly to antiquity than desertion and depopulation. We saw no stadium, theatre, or odæum; but so illustrious a city, with a marble quarry near it, could not be destitute of those necessary structures, and perhaps some traces might be discovered about the hill, on which the citadel stood. A few bass-reliefs and marbles are fixed in the

[†] An oke is a Turkish weight of about two pounds three quarters *avoir-depois*.

walls, and over the gate-ways of the houses.† We found by the sea-side, near the town, three stones with inscriptions, which had been brought for ballast from the continent of Asia. The Chiote, our attendant, was vociferous in his enquiries, but to little purpose. We were more than once desired to look at a Genoese coat of arms for a piece of ancient sculpture; and a date in modern Greek for an old inscription.

The most curious remain is that which has been named, without reason, *The School of Homer*. It is on the coast at some distance from the city, northward, and appears to have been an open temple of Cybele, formed on the top of a rock. The shape is oval, and in the centre is the image of the goddess, the head and an arm wanting. She is represented, as usual, sitting. The chair has a lion carved on each side,* and on the back. The area is bounded by a low rim or seat, and about five yards over. The whole is hewn out of the mountain, is rude, indistinct, and probably of the most remote antiquity. From the slope higher up is a fine view of the rich vale of Scio, and of the channel, with its shining islands, beyond which are the mountains on the main-land of Asia.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 4.

† Pococke has metamorphosed the goddess and the two lions on the sides of the chair, into Homer and a couple of the Muses. The three figures, instead of certain parts only, were, I should suppose, *supplied by the fancy of the drawer*. The reader may have a much better idea of the original from a relief among the Oxford Marbles, n. cxv. The image, it is likely, held in the hand, which is missing, either a patera, or tympanum. See n. cxiii. cxiv.

CHAP. XVII.

Set sail from Scio—Moor in a creek—Weather Cape Karabornu—The Inbat—View of Smyrna from the sea—The Frank street—The Consul's house—Live cameleons.

THE inconveniences, under which we had laboured for some time, rendered us impatient to get as fast as possible to Smyrna. We had been advised not to carry servants with us from England, and had made our way thus far alone. Besides the want of proper attendants, we were without our bedding, which, in our hurry at quitting the Anglicana, had been left on the quarter-deck. The weather was unfavourable to our departure from Scio. Thick clouds covered the mountains, and the southerly wind called Sirocco, prevailed. It thundered very much, with lightning, and rained hard in the night. We had hired a boat manned with Greeks, and our baggage was carried to the custom house to be inspected, but it blew so violently, we were advised not to go on board. The next day the wind still continued high and contrary; but, as it seemed not likely to change, and our boat was stout, we resolved to venture, and accordingly about noon embarked with a rough sea.

Leaving the mole of Scio, we buffeted the waves across to the continent, where we took in more ballast. We then stood to and fro the whole afternoon, but made little way. Our boat carried a large unhandy sail, which, when we tacked about, did not readily clear, and once we barely escaped being upset. In the evening we entered a small creek, and moored

by two other vessels. In the rock close by, were caverns black with smoke. These afford shelter to mariners and fishermen, in dark nights and tempestuous weather, when the sea is not navigable. We landed very wet from the salt spray, and half-starved with hunger. We had endeavoured, when we stopped before, to make the crew understand, that our keen appetites required present gratification, but did not succeed. Some of them now made a fire on shore, and boiled the fowls, which we had provided. We supped in a manner sufficiently disgusting, and retired to the boat, where the fresh ballast was our bed.

We were under sail again as soon as the morning dawned; plying between mount Mimas on the continent and the Spal-madore islands, called anciently *Ænussæ*. They belonged to the Chians, who had refused to sell them to the Phocæans. About two we weathered the southern promontory of the gulf of Smyrna, formerly called *Acra Melæna*, or *Black point*. The Turkish name, which now prevails, signifies nearly the same. It is *Kara-bournu*, or *Black Nose*.

Smyrna is situated in the latitude of 38°. 40". at the end of a long bay. As soon as we had gained the mouth of this gulf, the wind called *Inbat*, began to waft us pleasantly along. This, which is a westerly wind, sets regularly in during the hot months, in the day time; and is generally succeeded by a land-breeze in the night. The city was in view before us, when evening came on, and the gale died away.

We arrived at the Frank Scale, or key for Europeans, early in the morning, and beheld Smyrna, no longer remote, spreading on a slope, the summit of the hill crowned with a large solitary castle; domes and minarets, with cypress-trees interspersed, rising above the houses. On the south side, where the

Armenians and Jews have extensive burying grounds, on flats one above another, the surface of the acclivity appeared as covered with white marble. The quarter assigned to the Franks is on the north side; and by the shore, not far from us, the English flag was hoisted. Soon after, the consul, then Antony Hayes, Esq. sent an Armenian, one of his dragomen or interpreters, to be our guide to his house.

We landed and passed through the *bezesten* or *market*, which is "in form like a street, shutting up at each end, the shops being little rooms with cupolas leaded, and holes on the top with glass to let the light in.*" We then entered the street of the Franks, which had a dirty kennel, was of a mean aspect, and so narrow that we could scarcely get by a camel laden with charcoal. It was partly in ruins, a terrible fire having happened in the preceding year; and some of the consuls and merchants were now rebuilding, or had recently finished their houses, which in general extend from the street backward to the beach, and have an area or court. The apartments are in the upper story, spacious and handsome, with long galleries and terraces, open to the sea and the refreshing Inbat. Beneath them are large and substantial magazines for goods.

We were received by the consul, and visited by Mr. Lee, one of the principal merchants, and by the factory and other gentlemen, with great civility. As we were likely to make some stay, we enquired for lodgings, but were told that the families, which had been burned out, occupied all, and were distressed for room. The consul politely offered us a detached part of his house, which consists of a large quadrangle, with a court behind it. We were here much at our ease, and close by an ample

* Wheler.

gallery, where we might enjoy the grateful Inbat, with a full view of the shipping and of the long fair canal within Kara-bornu, which is bordered by woody mountains and dusky olive-groves; the surface of the water shining, and smooth; or ruffled by the wind; the waves then coming toward Smyrna as it were in regular progression, and breaking on the beach.

Among the new objects, which first attracted our attention, were two live cameleons, one of the size of a large lizard. They were confined each on a long narrow piece of board suspended between two strings, and had for security twisted their tails several times round. We were much amused with the changes in the colour of these reptiles, and with seeing them feed. A fly, deprived of its wings, being put on the board, the cameleon soon perceives its prey, and untwirling its tail, moves towards it very gently and deliberately. When within distance, it suddenly seizes the poor insect, darting forward its tongue, a small long tube furnished with glutinous matter at the end, to which the fly adheres. This is done so nimbly and quietly, that we did not wonder it remained unobserved for ages, while the creature was idly supposed to subsist on air. One of these made its escape, the other perished with hunger.

CHAP. XVIII.

Origin of Smyrna—The site—Its prosperity—Ruined—The citadel repaired—The Mahometan and Christian towns—Success of Tamerlane—Smyrna reduced by the Sultans—The present town—The citadel—The stadium and theatre—The port—The walls—The sepulchres—Consumption of the old materials—Tomb of St. Polycarp.

It is related of Alexander the Great, that after hunting he fell asleep on Mount Pagus beneath a plane tree, which grew

by a fountain, near a temple of the Nemeses; and that the goddesses directed him in a vision to found there a city for the Smyrnéans, a people from Ephesus, then living in villages. The work was begun by Antigonus, and finished by Lysimachus. The Clarian oracle was consulted on the removal of the Smyrnéans,* and answered in an heroic couplet, that those, who should dwell on mount Pagus, *beyond the sacred Meles*, would experience great prosperity. Afterwards the Ephesians, remembering their common origin, procured, with the concurrence of king Attalus and of Arsinoë his queen, their admission as members of the Ionic body; an honour, which they had coveted long before, when it was first constituted.† The Smyrnéans acknowledged more than one Nemeses; and two are represented as appearing to the warrior on a medallion in the Vatican.‡

The site selected by Alexander for this people was such as the ancient founders commonly preferred. Their cities in general were seated by some hill or mountain, which, as this did, supplied them with marble, and was commodious as well for defence as ornament. The side or slope afforded a secure foundation for the seats of the Stadium and Theatres, lessening both the labour and expense. It displayed the public and private structures, which rose from its quarry, to advantage; and rendered the view as captivating as noble. The Greeks were of old accounted happy in chusing their situations. They had been studious to unite beauty with strength, and good ports with a fertile soil. The Romans were attentive to articles neglected by them, to the paving of the ways, to the building of aqueducts, and to the common sewers.

* Pausanias, p. 210. † Vitruvius, p. 55. ‡ See *Museum C. Albani*. v. 1. pl. 32.

Smyrna flourished, as Apollo had foretold ; and, under the Romans, was esteemed the most beautiful of the Ionian cities. The wall comprised a portion of Mount Pagus, but more of the plain by the port, by the Metroum or temple of Cybele, and by the Gymnasium. The streets were as strait as the site would admit, and excellently disposed. The ways were paved. Both above and below were large quadrangular Stoas or *porticoes*. There was also a library, and, besides the other requisites of a noble city, a port which shut up ; but from an omission of the architects, the want of sewers occasioned a great nuisance. It was much frequented by the sophists, and, with Ephesus, became renowned as a school of oratory and science. It has been exalted with high encomiums, and stiled *the lovely, the crown of Ionia, the ornament of Asia*.

In the year 1084, Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, who assumed the title of king, seized and made Smyrna his capital. His fleet took Clazomene, Phoea, Scio, Samos, Mytilene, and other places. In 1097 this city was besieged by John Ducas, the Greek admiral ; and on its surrender, Caspaces, who had been sent to attack it by sea, was appointed governor ; but a Turk stabbed him, and his death was revenged by the massacre of ten thousand inhabitants. The whole coast of Asia, from Smyrna to Attalia, had been desolated by the wars, when the Greek emperor sent Philokales, in 1106, to restore its cities. Adramytium, which had been utterly destroyed, was then rebuilt, and peopled with peasants and strangers.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Smyrna lay in ruins, except the acropolis or citadel, which then served as a fortress. This was repaired and beautified by the emperor John Angelus Comnenus,* who died in 1224. Smyrna, thus

* Ducas, c. 7.

restored, was a small town chiefly on the summit of Mount Pagus, or within the present castle.

In 1313, Atin had subdued Lydia, and extended his conquests to this place. In 1332, Amir or Homur, his son and successor, was Sultan of Smyrna. In 1345, while he was absent with his fleet, ravaging the coasts of the Propontis, some galleies of the Latins, and of the knights of Rhodes burnt several vessels in the port. Amir arrived in time to save the town, but could not dislodge the enemy from a fort, which they had seized, nor prevent their making a settlement at the mouth of the port, at a distance from the Turkish town. The next year, the pope sent thither a nominal patriarch of Constantinople, escorted by twelve galleies; but Amir, while mass was celebrating in the church, attacked and drove the Italians into their citadel, called fort St. Peter, before which he was afterwards killed by an arrow.

Tamerlane, who ravaged Anatolia, or Asia Minor, in 1402, hearing that the Christians and Mahometans had each a strong hold at Smyrna, and were always at war, required the former to change their religion; but the governor soliciting aid from the European princes, Tamerlane marched in person to subdue a place, which Sultan Morat had attempted in vain, and which his son Bajazet had besieged or blockaded for seven years. He attacked it by sea and land; and, to ruin the port, ordered each soldier to throw a stone into the mouth, which was soon filled up; but the ships had got away. He took the town in fourteen days, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, and demolished the houses. The knights had fled into the castle of St. Peter, and thence to their galleies, which lay near. He is said to have cut off the heads of a thousand prisoners, and to have caused a tower to be erected with stones and their heads intermixed.

Cineis, who had long been governor of the Turkish town, continued in possession, when it was thus freed from its enemy and rival. He was much esteemed by the Ionians, and, after a variety of fortune, rose to be a sovereign in Asia. Sultan Mohammed the first, marched against him in 1419, and deprived him of Nymphéum, the city Cyme, and a fortress in the field of Menoumen. He was assisted by the governors of the islands, who hated Cineis, by several princes on the continent, his neighbours, and even by the Grand Master of Rhodes, who was then rebuilding fort St. Peter, which Tamerlane had destroyed. He demolished the fortifications of Smyrna, but spared the inhabitants; and, on a complaint that the Ionian slaves, who escaped from their owners, found shelter in the fort, ordered it to be ruined; permitting another to be erected on the borders of Lycia and Caria. Smyrna was again taken in 1424 by Sultan Morat, Cineis retiring to the mountains.

When the conquering Turk had gained complete possession of the Greek empire, and peace was restored; commerce revived, and again settled at Smyrna. The inhabitants, delivered from their apprehensions of danger, by degrees abandoned the castle, and the town slid, as it were, down the slope towards the sea; leaving behind it a naked space, where they now dig for old materials, and also some ordinary ruins below the castle, which overlooks the buildings and the bay, at a distance.

The reader will not be surprised if few traces of the ancient city remain. From a survey of the castle, which is extensive, we collect, that after being re-edified by John Angelus Comnenus, its condition, though less ruinous than before, was far more mean and ignoble. The old wall, of which many remnants may be discovered, is of a solid massive construction,

worthy of Alexander and his captains. All the repairs are mere patch-work. Near the western gate-way, at which you enter from the town, was once a fountain, now dry ; by which is a marble colossal head, the face much injured, of Apollo, or, as some have supposed, of Smyrna, an Amazon, from whom the people derived their name. Within is a deserted mosque, rubbish of buildings, and a large reservoir for water ; the roof arched, and supported by piers. On the marble arch of the gate-way fronting the north is inscribed a copy of verses, giving an elegant and poetical description of the extreme misery, from which the emperor John, before mentioned, had raised the city ; and concluding with an address to the omnipotent Ruler of heaven and earth, that he would grant him and his queen, whose beauty it celebrates, a reign of many years.* On each side is an eagle, rudely cut. The river Hermus may be seen from this eminence, which also affords a view of a fine champagne country round about, covered with vines.

Going down from the western gate of the castle towards the sea, at some distance is the ground-plot of the stadium, stripped of its marble seats and decorations. One side was on the slope of the mountain ; the opposite, or that next to the town, was raised on a vaulted substruction, which remains. It appears as a long dale, semicircular, or rounded at the top. The area, when we first saw it, had been reaped ; and, another time, some men were busy ploughing in it. Going from the northern gate of the castle, over which is the inscription, you come to vestiges of a theatre, in the side of the hill, near the brow, and fronting the bay. Farther down is a quarry. Below the theatre is part of a slight wall, which, with a fosse round the hill,

* Inscript. Ant. p. 5.

was begun about the year 1736, to protect the town from Solley Bey Oglou, a famous rebel, by whom it had been much distressed.*

The port, which shut up, reached once to the foot of the castle-hill, but is now dry, except after heavy rains, when it receives water from the slopes. It forms a spacious recess within the present town, and has houses along the margin. Tamerlane, by depriving the sea of its free ingress, contributed to this change, and the mud washed from above has gradually completed it. Like some of the Italian havens, it required perhaps to be cleansed, and deepened by machines contrived for that purpose. It is mentioned as the galley port at the beginning of this century.† A small mean castle still in use, on the north side of the entrance, is supposed to occupy the site of fort St. Peter.

The city wall, which descending from the castle, included the stadium on one hand, and the theatre on the other, has been long since demolished; and even its ruins are removed. A small remnant of it, on the hill above the stadium, consists of hard cement of rubble; but has been faced with better materials. This species of ancient masonry was called *Pseudisodomum*, as having externally the same appearance as the *Isodomum*, which was wholly of stone, or marble, the pieces regularly disposed. This side comprehended a large portion of the burying-grounds without the present town. The side next the theatre may be traced a considerable way along the brow, from its junction with the north east angle of the castle. In the Armenian quarter, by *The Three Corners*, or near the Frank street, are remnants of a thick and massive wall, which

* Pococke.

† See Tourne-fort.

has a large V cut on each stone; and in 1675, the foundations of a great and solid fabric, probably the Gymnasium, were visible in that part. Beyond the deep valley, in which the river Meles winds, behind the castle, are several portions of the wall of the pomœrium, which encompassed the city at a distance, but broken. The facings are gone, and masses only of hard cement and rubble are left.

The ancient sepulchres were chiefly in the pomœrium, without the city. One, which has been absurdly supposed a temple of Janus, remained in 1675, in the way to Eshekter, or beyond the river Meles and on the left of the road, leading toward Magnesia. It was then among olive-trees, in a field. The inscriptions of several are preserved and have been published. At the house of a Turk, occupied by Mr. Purnell, an English gentleman, was a marble sarcophagus, of which a very exact drawing is given by Le Brun.*

The ancient city has supplied materials for the public edifices erected by the Turks. The *bezesten* or *market*, which was unfinished in 1675, and the *vizir-khan*, were both raised with the white marble of the theatre. The very ruins of the porticoes and temples are vanished. We saw remains of one only; some shafts of columns of variegated marble, much injured, in the way ascending through the town to the castle. Many pedestals, statues, inscriptions and medals, have been, and are still discovered in digging. Perhaps no place has contributed more than Smyrna to enrich the collections and cabinets of the curious in Europe.

In the history of St. Polycarp, the first bishop of Smyrna, it is related, that he was burnt here in the Amphitheatre.

* See Wheeler, p. 249, and Spon. t. 1. p. 310. p. 130.

The Asiatic cities used the stadium for the diversions of the Roman amphitheatre; and that, it is probable, was the scene of his martyrdom. His sepulchre, which the Greek Christians are said to have revered, and to have visited annually, on the twenty-third of February, is still to be seen, as travellers have reported, by a spreading tree below the castle; but this is an idle tale, and deserves to be exploded. I examined the spot, and made particular enquiries, but could obtain no satisfactory information. If his reliques were interred, and the place once venerated, the knowledge of it has long since perished. The early tradition, if true, must have been often intercepted in its course downwards. The race of citizens, among whom it was most likely to be preserved, has been extirpated by war, plague, fire, and earthquakes; and Smyrna has been destitute of Greeks. Even now, under a more settled government, the same family seldom subsists there more than three generations.

CHAP. XIX.

Smyrna a great mart—The people—Dress of the women—Buildings—Heat, earthquakes, and plague—Burying grounds—Provisions—Mosquitoes or gnats.

THE devastations committed in Asia Minor, and the changes effected on the coast, as will be shewn hereafter, by the rivers, have rendered Smyrna the only considerable mart by the sea side; and, in consequence, the principal center of the traffic of the country. One lucrative branch of its commerce failed during the troubles in Persia, when the throne was usurped by Nadir Shah. The accustomed communi-

cation by caravans was then interrupted ; and trade, meeting with obstructions in the old course, which it had held for ages, turned away into new channels. But, with this loss, Smyrna continues a large and flourishing city. The bay, besides numerous small craft, is daily frequented by ships of burthen from the chief ports in Europe ; and the factors, who are a respectable body, at once live in affluence, and acquire fortunes.

The conflux at Smyrna of people of various nations, differing in dress, in manners, in language, and in religion, is very considerable. The Turks occupy by far the greater part of the town. The other tribes live in separate quarters. The protestants and Roman catholics have their chapels ; the Jews a synagogue or two ; the Armenians a large and handsome church with a burying-ground by it. The Greeks, before the fire, had two churches. They applied by their bishop at Constantinople, for leave to rebuild that which was destroyed, but the sum demanded was too exorbitant to be given. By this policy the Turks will in time extirpate Christianity from among their vassals.

The factors, and other Europeans settled at Smyrna, generally intermarry with the Greeks, or with natives of the same religion. Their ladies wear the oriental dress, consisting of large trowsers or breeches, which reach to the ankle ; long vests of rich silk, or of velvet, lined in winter with costly furs ; and round their waist, an embroidered zone, with clasps of silver or gold. Their hair is platted, and descends down the back, often in great profusion. The girls have sometimes above twenty thick tresses, besides two or three encircling the head, as a coronet, and set off with flowers, and plumes of feathers, pearls, or jewels. They commonly stain it of a

chestnut-colour, which is the most desired. Their apparel and carriage are alike antique. It is remarkable, that the trowers are mentioned in a fragment of Sappho*. The habit is light, loose, and cool, adapted to the climate. When they visit each other, they put over their heads a thin transparent veil of muslin, with a border of gold tissue. A janizary walks before, and two or more handmaids follow them, through the streets. When assembled, they are seen reclining in various attitudes, or sitting cross-legged on a sofa. Girls of inferior rank from the islands, especially Tino, abound; and are many of them as beautiful in person, as picturesque in their appearance. They excel in a glow of colour, which seems the effect of a warm sun, ripening the human body as it were into uncommon perfection. The women of the Turks, and of some other nations, are kept carefully concealed; and when they go out, are enwrapped in white linen, wear boots, and have their faces muffled.

The principal buildings in Smyrna are the mosques, the public baths, the *bezesten* or market, and the *khans* or inns. Some of these are very ample and noble edifices. The *khans* have in general a quadrangle or square area, and sometimes a fountain in the middle. The upper story consists of an open gallery, with a range of apartments, and often a small mosque, or place of worship, for the use of the devout mussulmen. Below are the camels with their burthens, and the mules, or horses. A servant dusts the floor of a vacant chamber, when you arrive, and spreading a mat, which is all the furniture, leaves you in possession. The gates are shut about sunset, and a trifling gratuity is expected by the keeper at your departure.

* Warton's Theocritus, p. 304. They are now called *Sparry*.

The streets of Smyrna, a few excepted, are very narrow, and exceedingly intricate. Caution is requisite in going out of the Frank quarter, and it is proper to be preceded by a janizary as a safe-guard. The lofty mountains,* which shelter the town, and leave it open only to the sea, concenter the rays of the sun, as it were into a focus. The intense heat commences in June, and continues, without intermission, to the end of August, or the middle of September. During this period, if the Inbat fail, the inhabitants are distressed, and even gasp for breath. The ground is then burnt up, and has large chasms and fissures, which, as some have imagined, give vent to bituminous vapours. These, if confined, are supposed to occasion earthquakes by their explosion. A year seldom passes without a shock or two, but generally slight, and less hurtful than alarming. They happen chiefly in spring and autumn, when the weather is calm; and it has been remarked at those times, that the sea commonly withdraws from the beach, and the water is unusually low. Besides this calamity, Smyrna is visited almost annually by the plague. If the distemper rage, the consuls and factors either retire into the country, or, as the phrase is, *shut up*, not admitting even the market-men to enter their gates. Many of the people abandon their dwellings, and live abroad under tents. The islanders return home, and the streets of the Frank quarter, which is exceedingly populous, cease to be trodden.

The Turks bury chiefly without the town, where the inclosures are very extensive, it being their custom not to open

* The mountains behind Smyrna were anciently called Mastusia and Termetis. *Pliny*.

the grounds filled with bodies, until a long term of years has elapsed. The graves have stones or pillars at the head and feet, and are sometimes shaded with cypress-trees. In their cemeteries, and in those of the Christians and Jews, are found many marble slabs and fragments of architecture. The English ground, which is at a distance from the Frank quarter, at the opposite end of the town, is walled in, and contains some monuments worthy notice for the beauty of their sculpture. These were brought from Italy. Mr. Bouverie, the friend and companion of Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Wood, is interred there, and has over him a plain marble, with a long Latin inscription. He died at Guzelihsar, or Magnesia, *by the Meander*.

Smyrna is well supplied with provisions. The sheep have broad tails, hanging down like an apron, some weighing eight, ten, or more pounds. These are eaten as a dainty, and the fat, before they are full grown, accounted as delicious as marrow. The flesh of wild hogs is common, and in esteem among the Europeans and Greeks, who purchase the animal, when killed by the Turks. Fine fish is taken in the bay. Hares, with game and fowl, are cheap. The partridges are bigger than the English, of a different colour and species, with red legs. The olive-groves furnish doves, fieldfares, thrushes, quails, snipes, and the like, in abundance. A variety of excellent wines are produced in the country, or imported from the islands. The fruits are of an exquisite flavour. Among those of the gourd kind, the water-melon which grows to a great size, is not only highly palatable, but so innocent as to be allowed to the sick in fevers. The figs are deservedly famous. The rich clusters of grapes are as wholesome as beautiful. Many on the stalk are found converted by the sun into raisins.

We were shewn one species, which had no stones. Large and heavy bunches are hung on strings, and preserved in the shops, for sale in the winter. Lemons and oranges, with citrons, are in plenty. The sherbets made with the juice of the two former, newly gathered, in water, sweetened with white honey, are as cooling, as grateful to the taste. Coffee is brought from Arabia. We partook almost daily of eatables unknown to us before. It is the general custom to sleep after dinner; and this indulgence is recommended as conducing, and even necessary, to health, in that climate.

Our situation was not, however, without grievances. We were much infested by a minute fly, which irritates by its puncture, and, settling on the white wall, eludes the angry pursuer with surprising activity. But this species, and the other insects which annoyed us, were petty offenders compared with the mosquitos, or large gnats, which tormented us exceedingly by their loud noise, and by repeated attacks on our skin where naked, or lightly clothed, perforating it with their acute proboscis, and sucking our blood, till they were full. A small fiery tumour then ensues, which will not soon subside, unless the patient has been, as it were, naturalized by residence; but the pain is much allayed by lemon-juice. At night they raged furiously about our beds, assaulting the gauze-veil, our defence, which, thin as it was, augmented the violent heat to a degree almost intolerable. Their fondness of foreign food is generally but too visible, in the swollen and distorted features of persons newly arrived.

CHAP. XX.

Of the adjacent country—The river Meles—The inner bay—Old Smyrna—Ancient sepulchres—Origin of old Smyrna—Story of Homer—Of another poet of Smyrna—The aqueducts—The cave of Homer—The river god.

SMYRNA has on the south-east* a fine plain, in which are villages, and the houses of the principal factors, who reside in the country in the summer. Norlecui and Hadjelar are toward the east. On the north side is Bujaw, distinguished by tall cypress-trees; and about a league from the sea Bonavre. In the way to this village, not far from the road, is a pool or two, now called *the Baths of Diana*, the water clear and warm; a steam arising from it in winter. The fragments of a marble edifice near it have been removed. Some arches and foundations of buildings have been discovered in digging. In the middle of the plain are several small canals, which communicate with aqueducts behind the castle hill. The bed of a torrent, which after rains falls into the river Meles, is on the south of the plain; and beyond, or toward the feet of the mountains is a village called Sedicui. Wild animals abound; and especially jackalls, which are heard nightly, howling on the hills or in the plain. When one begins, the rest join, as it were, in full cry. Cameleons and lizards are commonly seen, about the rubbish of old buildings, basking in the sun; and several kinds of snakes are found, some of a great length, which frequently are discovered by their musky smell.

* Pococke.

The Meles was anciently the boast of the Smyrnéans. This most beautiful water, as it had been stiled, flowed by the city-wall, and had its sources not remote. The clear stream is shallow in summer, not covering the rocky bed, but winding in the deep valley behind the castle, and murmuring among the ever-greens. It receives many rills from the sides; and, after turning an over-shot mill or two, approaches *the gardens* without the town, where it is branched out by small canals, and divided and subdivided into lesser currents, until it is absorbed, or reaches the sea, at the end of the Frank street, in ditches, unlike a river. But in winter, after heavy rains on the mountains, or the melting of snow, it swells into a torrent, rapid and deep, often not fordable, or with danger.

On the north of Smyrna, the sea enters a recess, in which is the road, where ships careen. This inner bay is called by the English sailors, *Peg's Hole*. The Meles, when full, pursues its way thither, instead of losing itself in the gardens. There also the first Smyrna was situated.

Old Smyrna was about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, from the present city, and on the other side of the river. It is described as near the sea, with the clear stream of the Meles running by, and existed in the second century. Perhaps some vestiges might be discovered, even now, in tracing the river toward the bay. This is less wide than it was anciently, and has been removed from the site, by a large accession of low land, formed of soil, washed from the mountains near, or of mud and slime brought down by the torrents.

Pococke* has described several very ancient sepulchres on the side of the hill, more to the west than Bonavre, and near

* P. 93.

the corner of the bay, which, I should suppose, are reliques of old Smyrna. The plainest sort consists, as he relates, of a raised ground in a circular form, of stones hewn out, or laid in a rough manner. In these are generally two graves, sunk in the earth, made of hewn stone, and covered over with a large stone. The others are circular mounts, from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, walled round, as high as their tops, with large rusticated stones; and have within, under ground, a room, which in some is divided into two apartments. The walls are all of good workmanship, constructed with a kind of brown bastard granite, the produce of the country, wrought very smooth; the joinings as fine as in polished marble. Some of the English had opened one of the former sort, and found an urn in it. I visited an old Turkish cemetery of considerable extent by Bonavre: and regret that I was not then apprised of these curious remains.

The Smyrnéans were originally of Ephesus, but had seceded, and, after dispossessing the Leleges, founded the city above mentioned. They were expelled in turn by the Æolians of Cyne, and retired to Colophon; but a party pretending to be fugitives, obtained re-admission, and, while the people were celebrating a feast of Bacchus without the walls, shut the gates. A general war was likely to follow between Æolia and Ionia, but it was at length agreed, that the town should deliver up all the effects of the late inhabitants, who were to be distributed among the Æolian cities. The territory of Smyrna had supplied corn for exportation, and the place was then become a considerable emporium. The Lydians destroyed this city, and the Smyrnéans subsisted four hundred years as villagers, before they settled on Mount Pagus.

It was the Æolian Smyrna, which claimed the glory of producing Homer. Critheis, his mother, it is related, going in company with other women out of the town, to observe a festival, was delivered of him near the Meles, and named him Melsegenes. This story is dated ten years after the building of Smyrna, and one hundred and fifty-eight after the war of Troy. We may regret that the pleas of all the cities, which disputed the honour of his birth, are not on record. The place and time are equally unascertained; and it has been observed, that the poet has mentioned neither the Meles nor Smyrna.*

The history of Homer, it is remarkable, is scarcely more obscure than that of another poet of Smyrna, who has likewise written on the Trojan war. This person indeed tells us, in an address to the Muses, that he had been inspired by them with his whole song before the dawn covered his cheeks, while he fed sheep in the territory of Smyrna, by the temple of Diana, on a mountain of a middling height, three times as far from the Hernus as a man, when he hollows, can be heard. His work, containing a sequel to the Iliad in fourteen books, was found by cardinal Bessarion in the church of St. Nicholas near Hydrús, a city of Magna Græcia; and by him communicated to the learned. The name of Quintus, perhaps the owner, was inscribed on the manuscript; and the author has been since called by it, with the addition of Smyrnæus or Calabrr. He appears to have been well acquainted with the country in which he lived, and has left some valuable descriptions of its antiquities and natural curiosities.

The bed of the river Meles, behind the castle, is crossed by

* Stabo, p. 554.

a lofty aqueduct, which, when we saw it, had been recently repaired, and then supplied the fountains in Smyrna. Higher up is one larger, but ruinous ; and near this is a remnant of an ancient paved causey, which led over the hills from Smyrna toward Ephesus and Colophon. The stones are smooth, broad, and massive. By the aqueduct are several petrifications, and one, of which an aged tree was the mould. The wood has perished, but the large hollow trunk, which incrustated it, is standing. The Meles rises above the aqueducts, out of a dry course deep-worn by torrents from the mountains.

The Smyrnæans were extremely jealous of their property in Homer. They distinguished a brass coin or medal by his name ; and an Homerium, his temple and image surrounded with a quadrangular stoa or portico, stood in the new city. They likewise shewed a cave, by the sources of the Meles, where they said he had composed verses. I searched for this, and in the bank above the aqueduct, on the left hand, discovered a cavern, about four feet wide, the roof a huge rock, cracked and slanting, the sides and bottom sandy. The mouth, at which I crept in, is low and narrow ; but there is another avenue, wider and higher, about three feet from the ground, and almost concealed with brambles. It may be entered also from above where the earth has fallen in. Beyond it we found a passage cut, leading into a kind of well, in which was a small channel designed to convey water to the aqueduct. This was dry, but near it was a current with a like aperture.

The river god, Meles, is represented on medals leaning on an urn with a cornucopia in his hand, to signify that he dispensed fertility ; or bearing a lyre, as a friend to the Muses. He has been much extolled by the ancient poets, and raised,

from his supposed connexion with Homer to a king of pre-eminence among the river deities. A sophist,* alluding to epithets bestowed by Homer, says of the Meles, that, boasting of such a son, he needed not envy the *silver-vortexes* of one river; or another, *his smoothness*; a third, that he is termed *divine*; or a fourth, *beautiful*; Xanthus or Scamander, the river near Troy, his descent from Jupiter; nor the Ocean, that he styled their general parent.

CHAP. XXI.

The gulph of Smyrna—Menimen—The river Hermus—The strait—The shoals—The plain of the Hermus—The mouth—Of Leuce—The extremity of the plain—Of Phocæa—Future changes to be expected.

THE gulph of Smyrna, which has been computed about ten leagues long, is sheltered by hills, and affords secure anchorage. The mouth of the Hermus is on the north side, within two leagues and a half of the city. The mountain, which bounds the bay of old Smyrna on the north, extends westward to a level plain, in which the river runs. This, with the Meander, was anciently famous for a fish called glanis, and for mullet; which came up from the sea in great numbers, particularly in spring.

The fertility of the soil by the river, and the plenty of water for the uses of gardening and agriculture, with other advantages, has occasioned the settling of numerous villages on that side of the gulf. Menomen, or, as it is commonly called, Menimen, is the principal, and supplies Smyrna with

* See Philostratus.

fruits, fish and provisions, boats passing to and fro without intermission. Near the scale or landing-place, which is three hours distant, is a large quantity of low land, bare, or covered only with shallow water. This tract is the site of a considerable fishery; being inclosed by reed-fences with gates or avenues, which are shut up to prevent the shoals from retreating, when they have once entered. We saw on the beach many camels laden, or standing by their burthens; and met on the road some travellers from Arabia and other countries; going to, or returning from, Constantinople. The hills were enlivened by flocks of sheep and goats, and resounded with the rude music of the lyre and of the pipe; the former a stringed instrument resembling a guitar, and held much in the same manner, but usually played on with a bow. We were then engaged, with some of our countrymen, in a shooting party, and in traversing the mountains, I had a distinct view of Menimen. It is situated on a rising ground by the Hermus, and appeared as a considerable place, with old castles. I have sometimes suspected it to have been anciently called Neontichos; but these parts, with the whole country of Æolia, still remain unexplored.

The Hermus, which in the winter had spread a wide flood, now, after passing Menimen, pursued its way to the sea, through low grounds, in some places, still under water. The stream was not wide, but full; winding toward the mouth, by which the soil appeared bare, and as mud undried. In summer it has a bar at the entrance, and is often shallow; and some of the shoals marked in the map are then dry. The plain had many channels formed by torrents from the mountains.

Near the mouth of the river is a sand-bank or shoal. The

channel there is very narrow, the land on the opposite side running out, and forming a low point, on which is a fortress erected, to secure the approach to the city, soon after the battle of the Dardanelles in 1656, when the Venetians defeated the fleet of Mahomet the Fourth. It is called *Sangiac* castle, because the grand seignior's colours are, on some occasions, hoisted there.

Besides the visible accession of land by the *Hermus*, and on the margin of the gulf, several banks lie concealed beneath the water, on either hand, sailing up to *Smyrna*. The principal one next the river, it is said, was formerly a dry and green flat, which suddenly sunk after an earthquake; probably that which happened in 1739, and was so great as to occasion a general terror: many families, from apprehension, abandoning their houses after it, and sleeping all the summer in huts in their gardens and court-yards. Ships often go upon it, without much danger, and are soon afloat again, if the wind set in. The end is driven out in an elbow toward the *Sangiac* castle by a strong current from the bay of old *Smyrna*; but the head is firmly fixed, and it will gradually re-emerge, and become dry and green as before. I have sailed often by shoals on the same side as the castle, in the way to the olive-groves, which, I was told, had risen above the surface of the sea, within a few years. On one or two of them was a hut belonging to some poor fishermen.

The beautiful and extensive plains, which were of old regarded as peculiar to the country, have been justly styled the offspring of its rivers. The *Hermus*, the *Cayster*, and the *Meander*, were each noted for producing new land; and had each a district, aptly called by its name, as by that of the parent.

The mouth of the Hermus has been continually shifting and changing place, in consequence of the encroachments made on the sea. Hence Pliny writes, "The town of Temnos has been, but the rocks within the extremity of the gulph, called Myrmeces, *The Pismires*, now are at the mouth of the Hermus." It is at present much nearer to Smyrna, than appears in the maps in general, and perhaps than it was a few centuries ago.

The same author mentions, that Leuce, then a promontory in the Smyrnéan gulph, had once been an island. This spot had on it a small town of the same name, founded in the second year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, by Tachos, a Persian malcontent, who died soon after. The people of Cyne and of Clazomene contended for it, and agreed to submit their cause to the decision of the oracle at Delphi; when the Pythia gave Leuce to the claimant, which should first sacrifice there in the temple of Apollo. The Clazomcnians were the more remote, but by their management obtained the place. Aristonicus, an illegitimate son of king Eumenes, got possession of it on the death of Attalus Philometor. The Roman consul, Crassus, was sent against him, and was killed fighting near it.

It happened, that our passage up and down the gulph was in the night; but when we sailed from Smyrna, the Inbat met us near the entrance, and we steered our boat into a small creek on the north side, below the Hermus, and an hour from Phoggia or Phocéa. We had there a view of the extremity of the plain, which is wide, low, and level, encircling the rocks once called the Myrmeces, and a small mountain or hill with a smooth top. This, it is believed,

was the island and promontory Leuce. A long spit now runs from it out into the sea.

On the coast, after Leuce, was anciently Phocéa, situated in a bay; the city oblong, the wall inclosing a space of two miles and five hundred paces, the sides then meeting, and forming as it were a wedge, which they called Lamptera, where it was one mile and two hundred paces wide. A tongue of land then running a mile out into the sea, and dividing the bay about the middle, formed two secure ports, one on each side of the isthmus; that toward the south called Naustathmos; the other, which was near, Lamptera. The present town* is seated on the tongue, within the isthmus, and the ancient site is called Palæ-Phoggia, or *Old Phocéa*. It has on the north four islets, one named *St. George*, lying before the harbour. Beyond Phocéa were the boundaries of Ionia and Æolia, less than two hundred stadia, or twenty five miles, from Smyrna.

The river Hermus, by its influence on the gulf, has already effected great changes, and will gradually accomplish some signal alterations, of which the progress deserves to be accurately marked. The flats before Smyrna will mutually approach; and, leaving only a narrow ingress, the city will be on a lake. This will be fed by the Meles, and by torrents, and in time become fresh. The plague of gnats will then, if possible, be multiplied at Smyrna. The land will continue to increase, until it is in a line with the mouth of the gulf, when the site of Clazomene and the islets within Kara-bornu, will be encompassed with soil; and, if no current intervene, Pho-

* See views in *Le Brun*, p. 166.

c a will be deprived of its harbour. The sea within the gulf will by degrees give place to a noble plain created and watered by the Hermus. Commerce will have then removed to some more commodious mart, and Smyrna be, if not utterly deserted, desolate and forlorn.

CHAP. XXII.

Our firhman—First journey from Smyrna—A tendour—Mildness of the winter at Smyrna—Return of the cranes—We prepare for another journey—Rumour of the plague—Confirmed—Our embarrassment—Our second journey—Method.

ON our return to Smyrna, in the evening of the 18th of September, from a small excursion with a party of our countrymen, we were agreeably surprised to find the Anglicana arrived in the bay from Constantinople. The captain brought with him a *firhman* or travelling command, obtained for us from the Porte by the English ambassador. This instrument enjoined all the governors, the judges, the officers of the janizaries and of the revenue, to whom we should present it, not to molest us or our European servants, on any pretence, nor to exact tribute from us, but to protect and defend us, and permit us to prosecute our journeys without obstruction, as they respected the imperial signature. It was dated about the middle of the moon Rebiulevv l, in the year of the Hegira 1178; or of September, 1764.

A small portion of the year yet remained not unfit for travelling. Finding our English bedding too cumbersome, we purchased thin mattresses stuffed with cotton, some tin ket-

tles, plates, and other like necessities ; and hired a janizary, with two grooms and a cook, Armenians. One horse carried our baggage. We set out on the 30th of September, and were absent until the 29th of October. The weather, which had favoured us, then became rainy and bad, but soon changed again to mild and agreeable.

The happy temperature of the climate of Ionia in general, has been much favoured by the ancients. At Smyrna, the houses, except those erected by the Europeans, have seldom chimnies or fire-places in the rooms. In cold weather it is usual to place a pan of charcoal beneath a table, over which a carpet, or handsome counterpane is spread, the sides reaching to the floor. This is called a *tendour*. The family sit round, warming their legs and hands under the cover.

As winter advanced, the sky, which in summer is most remarkably clear, and serene, varied ; and we had alternately sunshine and rain. Southerly winds chiefly prevailed, bringing clouds on the mountains, from which proceeded thunder and lightning. The showers renew the verdure, which, in the middle of December, was as fine as ever I saw, with marigolds and anemonies, springing spontaneously from the turf beneath the olive trees, in great profusion. At the same time thickets of myrtle in blossom adorned the waste ; and in the gardens the golden fruit glittered among the deep-green leaves of the orange trees. The southerly quarter is warm as well as wet ; but the flowers, which it produces, instantly droop and wither before the northerly and easterly winds. These in summer are hot, coming over parched plains and naked mountains exposed to the sun ; but at this season are extremely bleak and penetrating, and bring snow on the distant hills ; that or sleet rarely falling in the champaign country or valleys. The

north-east is often attended with heavy rain, without thunder. In the coldest day we felt, our thermometer was at forty nine; but in December the sun at times was powerful, and the air sultry: and, once in that month, the same thermometer rose to eighty in the shade. We had plenty of daffodils and hyacinths. Early in February the almond trees blossomed, and roses and carnations were common, and sold about the streets. Upon the whole, we enjoyed, except some few intervals, an azure sky, with exquisite softness, such as cannot be described.

A company of cranes, returning from their winter quarters, flew in orderly array over Smyrna, on the ninth of March, northward. Another soon followed, and then many; some by day, when they are seen changing their figure and leader; some by moon-light, when they are heard, high in air, repeating their noisy signals. At the same time the bees were observed to be in motion. These were regarded as sure signs that winter was at an end, and as foretelling settled weather.

I had begun early to prepare for another journey, and studied to remove, or remedy, as far as possible, the inconveniencies we had before experienced, by providing a tent and increasing the number of our attendants and horses. It was thought proper not to move until the Ramazan or Lent of the Turks, during which they are often sour and churlish, was over; and the general change or re-appointment of the governors, which is made in March, had taken place.

A rumour, that the plague had appeared in Smyrna, was current, but not credited; it often happening that such stories are propagated to serve a private purpose, or to dis-

tress the trade of a rival factory. It was now again asserted, that a person was ill or dead of the disease; and an English ship left the bay only half laden.

We had agreed, on the 13th of March, to leave Smyrna on the 21st. On the 18th we were informed, that our janizary was unwilling to go then; bairam, or the Turkish holidays beginning the next day; but was ready to set out with us either before or two days after. We then fixed on the 25th. Between the 17th and 20th we were assured, that four or five persons more had been attacked by the plague, imported, it was said, from Musconisi, or from Tino, in which islands and in Scio, it was well known, the distemper had resided for some time. These accidents disconcerted us exceedingly, and seemed to threaten a final period to our expedition.

It may be imagined that, during our abode with the consul, the plague had been a frequent topic of our conversation. We were told, this season seldom passed without some appearance of it; that often the malady did not spread, or was partial, and of short duration; that it was communicated only by contact with some person or thing infected; and that the Franks, who are accounted less liable to receive it than the people of the country, continue, unless it be very general, their business and recreations as usual: but on the other hand, the approaching holidays both of the Turks and Christians, made it not improbable that the contagion would be carried to and fro, and that it would soon extend over the whole city and its vicinity. We had before us personal danger, and the apprehension of a tedious and disagreeable confinement, not without its perils, if we remained at Smyrna, or in Asia. In such situations as these, even extreme

timidity scarcely deserves censure. Among other expedients, it was proposed to pursue the general plan of our voyage by crossing over to Athens, and returning in autumn, when the plague should have ceased; but this measure too had its risks and inconveniencies; and, at length, as the places suspected were only Smyrna and Pergamo, after due deliberation, we resolved to proceed on our intended journey.

We quitted the consul's house on Monday, the 25th of March, O. S. 1765, attended by a Swiss, and some Armenian servants, with a mule and horses carrying provision—chests, utensils for cooking, our tent, bedding, and other requisites; all together forming a very motley caravan or procession, headed by a janizary. The Frank families had then shut up, as it is termed, or had retired into the country, for security from the infection. We did not return to Smyrna until the 8th of August.

Some occurrences, which will be related, made it prudent to contract this journey within a much narrower outline than was previously designed. The former falling in with it, and both together completing our survey of these parts, as far as we found practicable, we shall unite them in our narrative; this method enabling us to follow nearly the course of the country: beginning with the latter, which was the most extensive, and marking their mutual coincidence, with the different seasons, in which they were performed.

CHAP. XXIII.

Sea-coast of Ionia—Vourla reputed Clazomene—The olive-groves—Vestiges of an ancient bridge—The Agamemnonian hot baths—Their present state—Isthmus of the peninsula—The dike cut by Alexander—Villages—The town of Vourla.

THE sea-coast of Ionia extended from Phocæa and the Hermus, southward to Posidium, a promontory of the Milesians, and to the Carian mountains. The shape was irregular, it abounding in bays and peninsulas. The cities were all originally maritime; their number on the continent ten, besides Smyrna; their situation as uncommonly fine as their climate. It has been said of this region, that it boasted temples, such as were possessed by no other country, and many wonders hardly exceeded even in Hellas or Greece.

The city of Ionia, next to Smyrna, was Clazomene. As this place was within the gulf, on the south-side, and the distance anciently reckoned only twelve miles, we supposed the site known to the people of Smyrna, and the modern name to be, as they informed us, Vourla. We resolved therefore to begin our second journey with that town, distant by computation six hours; hoping, if the plague did not cease at Smyrna during our absence, we might at least escape its fury; and expecting to obtain security and satisfaction, in proportion as we removed from the seat of infection, and of its sure concomitant, mortality.

We set out from Smyrna at eight in the morning, on the 25th of March, and passing through the lower portion of

the city, crossed the mouth of the dry port, to a road between the burying-grounds on the hill and the sea. There, on the right hand, near the end of the graves, may be seen a piece of tessellated pavement, running under the bank. After going over a bare craggy ridge, we turned westward into a wood of olives, in which we remarked many trees with huge knotty trunks, indicating extreme old age. The green level was enamelled with anemonies, and other beautiful flowers. The sky was clear and serene, and the breeze gentle and deliciously soft. The Europeans resort to these groves, on shooting parties, in boats from the town, or with their families for pleasure, and the benefit of the air.

We came now to a shallow river, over which is a lofty bridge, intended to secure a passage to the traveller, when torrents descend from the adjacent mountain, formerly called Corax. On this principally the clouds seen from Smyrna reside, when the wind is southerly. Nearer the foot are vestiges of an ancient bridge, of which the piers were rebuilt, or repaired, before its final ruin; and in one of them is a maimed Corinthian capital. I once pursued the stream a considerable way into the mountain. It flowed rapid and transparent over the rough solid rock, its course deep-sunk between shaggy summits, whose sides are almost perpendicular, and inaccessible even to goats; a crowded flock then browsing below. We met, besides these and their keepers, a peasant or two by a little over-shot mill, the wretched tenants of this solemn and striking recess.

Some fragments of architecture in the Turkish burying-grounds, not far from hence, it is likely, belonged, with the relique above-mentioned, to the temple of Apollo, once seated

on the western bank of this stream, by the hot baths.* These have been computed forty stadia, or five miles from the city, and were called *the Agamemnonian*, by the people of Smyrna. It is related, that the army under Agamemnon, ravaging Mysia, was engaged by Telephus near the river Caicus; that many of the Greeks were wounded in the battle; that an oracle directed them for a cure to these waters; and that here and there the helmets taken from the enemy were suspended.† The old remains of the buildings are of brick, the masonry good, but soil and rubbish have risen to the imposts of the arches, which are closed.

You descend by steps to the bath, which is under a modern vaulted roof, with vents in it for the steam; and adjoining to this, is a like room now disused. The current, which is soft and limpid, is conveyed into a small round basin of marble, and runs over into a large cistern or reservoir beneath. Our thermometer rose in the vein to one hundred and fifty. Near it is a duct, which supplies a cold stream; but in January, when I saw it, was dry. A quantity of coagulated blood lay on the pavement. I was informed a sheep had been killed above, and that substance used instead of soap in shaving, which operation is often performed in the baths. The warm rill emerges in two or more places in the bed of the river, and in cool weather may easily be discovered, a thick mist rising from it, visible afar off.

After passing the river and Sangiac castle, we came to the sea-side, and to a coffee-hut, at which we alighted, and tarried twenty minutes. At one we opened the isthmus, or neck of the peninsula, the southern boundary of the gulf.

* Strabo, p. 645.

† Philostratus, p. 664.

The Clazomenians anciently inhabited on the north side, bordering on the Erythræans, who were within it. The Teians were on the south, with a port north of their city. Hitherto our course westward had been chiefly beneath the northern termination of Mount Corax.

The isthmus appears as a wide pleasant valley, and the land being mostly level, we could discern across it the blue tops of the island Samos. Its width* was reckoned fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter; and the periplus or circumnavigation of the peninsula, a thousand stadia, or one hundred and twenty-five miles. The distance of Smyrna from Ephesus, in a straight line, was only three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles; but, if you coasted, near two thousand two hundred stadia, or two hundred and seventy five miles; owing principally to this peninsula. Alexander the Great, to render the communication easier, ordered, that a navigable cut should be made though the plain here, intending to join the two bays, and by converting the whole Cherronese into an island, to surround the city Erythræ and Mount Mimas with the sea. A dike, or canal, running up the valley, is a monument of that attempt, which failed, when the workmen came to the rock. We passed it over a bar of sand at the mouth. The inbat blowing fresh, and the waves dashing over, two of our horses started aside, floundered deep, and wetted our baggage. A like accident, in fording another water afterwards, occasioned some delay.

We continued our journey along the shore. The hills on our left were covered with low shrubs, and villages, some of a clean dry aspect, and several not immediately discernible,

* In Pliny, seven miles and a half.

though near; the mud-built cottages being exactly of the same colour with the soil. As we approached Vourla, the little vallies were all green with corn, or filled with naked vine stocks in orderly arrangement, about a foot and a half high. The people were working, many in a row, turning the earth, or encircling the trunks with tar, to secure the buds from grubs and worms. The shoots, which bear the fruit, are cut down again in winter. We saw another species, which produces very large grapes, running up and spreading on the branches of trees planted for their support. A mart like Smyrna diffuses cultivation through all its vicinity.

Vourla is distinguished at a distance by its numerous windmills. On entering the town, we saw nobody, the houses were shut up, and a silence and solitude prevailed, which, before we recollected what we had lately seen, suggested to us the terrible idea, that the inhabitants had left it, to avoid the cruel distemper from which we also were flying. It is a place of considerable extent, the buildings dispersed on eminences; with a pleasant plain toward the sea. The water and air are reputed good. The Turks have seven mosques, and the Greeks two churches. At one of these is a small bass-relief, representing a funereal supper, with a short inscription.* Another is fixed in the wall over a fountain. We were recommended by letter to an Italian, a practitioner in physic, who attended us about the town, and shewed us every civility in his power. A cursory view of this place was sufficient to convince us, that it did not stand on the site of Clazomene.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 8.

CHAP. XXIV.

We search for Clazomene—Discover the mole—Pass over the site—Islets—We repass—Origin of Vourla.

WE were assisted by the friendly Italian in our enquiries for a ruined city in that neighbourhood, and in the evening procured a man to conduct us, as we supposed, to the site of Clazomene. We set out early in the morning, when he carried us back to the opening of the isthmus, and shewed us, for Clazomene, a piece of ordinary wall, which has inclosed a cistern on the top of a hill; with some scattered rubbish on the slope. There, it is likely, was anciently the settlement of the Chalsidensians, probably a colony from Chalsis in Eubœa, belonging to Clazomene. Above them was a grove sacred to Alexander the Great, where the games called Alexandréa were celebrated by the Ionian body.

Finding our guide ignorant, and at a loss which way to go, we adopted the surer direction of ancient history; remembering, that the Clazomenians, to be more secure from the Persians, had settled in an island, which, by command of Alexander, was afterwards changed into a peninsula, by the addition of a mole. We crossed the plain of Vourla, slanting toward the sea, and soon discovered this monument also of that great mind, which delighted in correcting or subduing nature by filling up or forming paths for the deep; which here still bore visible marks of his royal pleasure, and now raged, as it were indignant, but in vain, against the barrier which he had appointed.



The mole was two stadia, or a quarter of a mile in length, but we were ten minutes in crossing it; the waves, which were impelled by a strong inbat, breaking over in a very formidable manner, as high as the bellies of our horses. The width, as we conjectured, was about thirty feet. On the west side it is fronted with a thick strong wall, some pieces appearing above the water. On the opposite is a mound of loose pebbles, shelving as a buttress, to withstand the furious assaults of storm and tempest. The upper works have been demolished, and the materials, a few large rough stones excepted, removed.

We computed the island to be about a mile long, and a quarter broad. The city was small, its port on the N. N. W. side. Traces of the walls are found by the sea, and in a hill are vestiges of a theatre. Three or four trees grow on it, and by one is a cave* hewn in the rock, and affording water. The soil was now covered with green corn. A vaulted room with a chimney at one end, and a hovel or two made with stones piled, are all the present structures; and these are chiefly frequented by fishermen, and by persons employed to watch, and to drive away birds, when the grain ripens. Referring to this confined situation of Clazomene, a famous sophist, when importuned to adorn his native city by residing in it, rather than at Smyrna, replied, *the nightingale refuses to sing in a cage.*

* A cave is mentioned by Pausanius, p. 211. It is thus described by Randolph. Nothing remains but the cave, which is cut out of a firm rock, almost square, supported with four pillars of the same rock. To the eastward is part of an altar, and in the middle is a well, but the water is brackish, and not fit to be drunk. *State of the islands in the Archipelago, 1687.*

By Clazomene is a cluster of islets,† all once cultivated, now neglected and barren. Their number was eight, but I could count only six. One is called *Long Island*, and by some *the English Island*, because, as they relate, a party of our countrymen from Smyrna landing on it for diversion, were attacked suddenly, and murdered there by banditti or pirates. Some of these islets, and perhaps even of the CEnussæ without the gulf, may owe their origin or increase to the river Hermus.

After making the circuit of the island, we sat down by the isthmus to dine, when our attention was engaged by a large company landed at the scale or road of Vourla, which is westward from the mole, and had in it some small-craft, with a few houses and a mosque on the shore. An irregular discharge of guns and pistols followed, in compliment, as our guide told us, to the new aga or governor, who was then arrived. In the mean time the inbat increased very fast, as usual toward sun-set, and with it the swell of the sea. We began to wish that we had repassed the mole, as soon as our curiosity was gratified; and to apprehend, that without a speedy removal, we might be detained much longer on this deserted spot than we should like. Our horses were shy of the surf, and one of our company, inclining too much to the left to avoid it, got into deep water, but soon recovered the track.

Among the causes, which have co-operated in bringing on the general desolation of these coasts, may be numbered the outrages suffered from licentious pirates, under a weak or bad government, and the hostilities committed by privateers.

† Three of them were called Marathusa, Pele, Drymusa. It is probable the names of all of them are contained in a passage of Pliny, l. 5. c. 37.

The former have in all ages infested these seas : encouraged by the frequent creeks and portlets ; where they may lie unnoticed, looking out for their prey from eminences, which command extensive views of the canals between the islands ; or ready, on the approach of a superior force, to abandon their vessels, and escape to the mountains. The Clazomenians, molested, it is said, by Corsairs of Tino, retired from the sea to the continent, where they were less liable to be surprised. Many other places owe their origin to the same motives of apprehension and prudence as Vourla.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Kara-borniotes—Mount Mimas—Night—Arrive at Erythræ—The site—Islets—Remains.

BEYOND Clazomene the peninsula, becoming very mountainous, with narrow and difficult passes, affords many places of refuge, inaccessible, or easily defended. Hence the kara-borniotes, or inhabitants of the southern cape of the gulf, were long infamous as pirates and robbers, and had the general character of a very bad people. We were now told, that their manners were changed, and their disposition less ferocious and inhuman ; that they attend to the culture of the vine, and the management of the silk-worm, and frequent the market of Smyrna with the produce. We thought it prudent, however, to increase our guard, and hire another janizary, intending to go to Erythræ, now corruptly called Ritre, and reckoned eight hours distant.

We set out from Vourla early in the morning, and in an

hour, after crossing a small promontory, came to the bottom of a deep bay, which, with an island in it, is almost landlocked, lying immediately within the cape. We then ascended a ridge of Mount Mimas ; and, passing a stream, entered on a rugged narrow track between very lofty cliffs, and by the side of a water-course frightfully steep. We were engaged in this strait four hours, our baggage-horses falling, or being jammed with their burthens, where the rocks projected. At length we arrived in view of a plain deep-sunk among the hills, which surround it. Before us was a grey ridge seen at Smyrna ; and a little on the left, a top of the island Scio ; behind us were the two white conical summits of mount Corax, called *The Brothers*, which serve as a sea-direction in navigating the gulf. We descended to Cerhardam, a Turkish village, where we alighted about three in the afternoon. We had proposed passing the night here, as our men and horses were weary, but could get neither lodging nor corn.

After dining beneath a tree, we continued our journey across a ridge to Cadoagi, a small place near an hour farther on. Here we had our tent pitched, for the first time, within an inclosure by a cottage, and slept in it. Our bedding was a small carpet, mattress, and coverlet. Each had by his side a gun, sword, and a pair of loaded pistols. The Swiss guarded the mouth of the tent. The nights were as yet cold, and our janizary was provided with a cloak of a dark colour, shaggy, and very thick, made without a seam, with a cape, or rather cowl, for his head. Wrapped in this, he lay down like Diomed in his bull-skin, in the open air, with his pistol and sabre by him, and his gun in his hand. Our other attendants were likewise dispersed, mostly on the ground, round about the tent, armed as by day ; and

one of the Armenians watched the horses, which were fastened to stakes with their saddles on.

At the dawn of day we rose, and a table-cloth was spread on the ground, when we breakfasted on dried figs, bread, butter, which we carried with us, and garlic; drinking wine or water, and a cup of coffee. In the mean time our men struck the tent, and got ready our baggage. The sun only began to appear on the mountain-top, and a low shining mist, like water, concealed the valley beneath us, when we began our journey; travelling over and between the wild ridges of Mount Mimas. In two hours we came to a vale, well watered, and stored with myrtles and ever-greens. Here we observed some pieces of an ancient wall, which had been erected across it; and, after passing the ruin of a mosque, which has a sepulchral inscription fixed over the door-way, an opening afforded us a view of the site of Erythræ, of the sea, and of the island Scio. We entered at a gap in the ruins of the city wall, where we supposed a gateway to have been; and finding no shade, pitched our tent on a green spot, extending it as a wide umbrella to shelter us from the sun, then shining exceedingly bright and powerful.

The walls of Erythræ were erected on two semicircular rocky brows, and had square towers at regular distances. They were very thick, the stones massive and rugged, the masonry is called *Pseudisodomum*. In the middle is a shallow lively stream, clear as chrystal, which turns a solitary mill in its way, through thickets of myrtle and bushes, to the sea. This rivulet was anciently named Aleos, and was remarkable for producing hair on the bodies of those who drank

of it.* Near the mouth is a piece of ordinary mosaic pavement. By a conical hill, on the north, are vestiges of an ample theatre in the mountain-side; and, farther on, by the sea, three pedestals of white marble. Beyond these is an old square fortress standing on a low spot, a little inland; and by it was a short sepulchral inscription. We searched in vain for a temple of Hercules, which has been mentioned as one of the highest antiquity, and as resembling the temples of Egypt. The god was represented on a float, on which they related that he arrived at Erythræ from Phœnicia.†

Before the port of Erythræ are four islets, once called Hippi, *the Horses*; and beyond these are the Spalmadore islands, by which we sailed, in our stormy passage from Scio to Kara-bornu. A promontory of Mount Mimas beyond Erythræ was named Coryna; and one near mid-way sailing toward Scio, Hera Mesate. The shore winds, and forms several bays.

Erythræ has been long deserted, and, like Clazomene, stripped even of its ruins, except some masses of hard cement, a few vaults of sepulchres, a fragment of inscribed architrave, a broken column or two, and a large stone, on which is carved a round shield. The bare rock afforded a natural foundation for the houses and public edifices; and the materials, when they were ruined, lay ready to be transported to Scio and other places, which continue to flourish. Some words were visible on one of the pedestals. We would have cleared them all from weeds and rubbish, which concealed their inscriptions; but our guide had affirmed, that we

* Pliny, l. 31. x. † Pausanias, p. 210.

could not pass the night here without danger; our horses were standing ready, and we had no time to spare.

CHAP. XXVI.

*Of the peninsula—Chismé—Mount Corycus—Mount Mimas—
End of the peninsula—At Segigeck—Antiquities—Cranes.*

ERYTHRÆ was about mid-way in the periplus, or circumnavigation of the peninsula. It had to the north a village named Cybellia, and the cape, by which was a quarry, dug for mill-stones. The lofty mountain to the south was called Corycus, and its promontory Argennum. This ran out toward Posidium, a promontory of Chios, from which it was separated by a strait, about sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half wide. In Corycus a cave was shewn, in which they said the sibyl Herophile was born. Its coast had several ports, and was much infested by pirates and robbers. After Corycus was Geræ, a small town of the Teians by the port, north of their city. The third tribe of the Erythræans had its name from a region called Chalcitis, peopled with Chalcidensians; and the sea-baths, by a cape of that district, were esteemed superior to any in Ionia.

We had been told that at Chismé, a town since noted for the destruction of the Turkish navy by the Russians, and distant about five hours from Erythræ, were spacious and handsome baths erected by the Genoese. We had intended seeing them, but were now informed that the place was almost abandoned, the plague having been carried thither from Scio.

Our guide, at setting out, conducted us to the shore; and, winding southward, we ascended a lofty ridge of Mount Corycus, from which we had an extensive view of the coast, of the channel of Scio, and of the gulf of Smyrna. *The Brothers* were before us, and behind us Chismé. The mountain was covered with low shrubs. We then descended to the station of some goatherds, guarded by several large and fierce dogs. In three hours and a half we came unexpectedly to the village on Mount Mimas, where we lay the preceding night.

The valley beneath us, and the side of the mountain, were again enveloped in thick shining mist, when we began our journey; and, keeping along the southern edge of a plain, re-ascended Mount Mimas, which the ancients have described as woody, and abounding in wild beasts. The slopes here were clothed with pines and shrubs, and garnished with flowers, many of a bright yellow, resembling small single pinks. The hogs had rooted up the green corn in several places. At noon we came to the bay, which we passed in going to Erythræ; and, striking off to the right, dismounted to dine under some shady trees by a copious fountain. We had suffered much from the sun, and were greatly fatigued.

After enjoying awhile the luxury of cool water and shade, we continued our journey, leaving Vourla and the villages on our left hand. As we crossed the mountain, the island Samos rose to view at a distance, and we opened the sea on the south side of the peninsula. We passed many small pleasant spots, well watered, and green with corn, or with myrtles and shrubs. We descended from Mount Mimas by a road cut in the rock, which anciently divided the Ery-

thræan territory from the Clazomenian. Here the peninsula ends. The way from hence, or from the beginning of the isthmus on the south, to Clazomene, was over Mount Mimas to Chytrium, originally the site of that city, and now, it seems, of Vourla.

We rode on, and after three hours arrived at Segigeck, which was before us, by the head of a shining bay, landlocked, with an islet near the mouth. We were civilly received by a party of men and boys, who were gathered about the gate on our approach, and directed to the interior fortress, which was much out of repair. Here we were lodged in an apartment over the gate-way, belonging to the aga or governor, who was absent on a visit of ceremony to a superior officer, attended by most of the garrison. Our horses, servants, and baggage, were disposed in the area, or court below.

Segigeck is a large square ordinary fortress, erected, it is said, by the Genoese, on a flat; with a few brass cannon toward the sea. It was anciently called Geræ, was the port of the city Teos toward the north, and had been peopled with Chalsidensians, who arrived under Geres. It incloses some mean mud-built houses. In the wall next the water are several inscribed marbles, the colour a blue-grey, transported from Teos. Another is fixed in a fountain without the south gate. In the hot bath are two large fragments placed upside down, and serving for seats, which I examined, but hastily, fearing some infection, as the plague was known to be near. All these have been published by the learned Chishull. By a mosque and in the burying-grounds are some scattered fragments, and a sepulchral inscription* or

* Inscript. Ant. p. 6.

two. This place is reckoned eight hours from Smyrna. A view of it is given in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

The cranes were now arrived at their respective quarters, and a couple had made their nest, which is bigger in circumference than a bushel, on a dome close by our chamber. This pair stood, side by side, with great gravity, shewing no concern at what was transacting beneath them, but at intervals twisting about their long necks, and clattering with their beaks turned behind them upon their backs, as it were in concert. This was continued the whole night. An owl, a bird also unmolested, was perched hard by, and as frequently hooted. The crane is tall, like a heron, but much larger; the body white, with black pinions, the neck and legs very long, the head small, and the bill thick. The Turks call it friend and brother, believing it has an affection for their nation, and will accompany them into the countries they shall conquer. In the course of our journey, we saw one hopping on a wall with a single leg, the maimed stump wrapped in linen.

CHAP. XXVII.

Situation of Teos—Remains—The port, &c.—The temple of Bacchus—Teos deserted—A Venetian vessel.

SEGIÖECK stands on the north side of the isthmus of a small rough peninsula, which extends westward, and terminates in a sharp low point. This perhaps was the cape once called Macria, by which were the baths of the Teians, some on the shore in a cavity of the rock, or natural, and some

made by art, and from ostentation. Teos was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters from Geræ; and fronted the sea on the south side. It was equidistant from Erythræ and Chios, sixty one miles and a half from each by the coast.

In the morning we crossed the isthmus to Teos, now called Bodrun. We found this city almost as desolate as Erythræ and Clazomene. The walls, of which traces are extant, were, as we guessed, about five miles in circuit; the masonry handsome. Without them, by the way, are vaults of sepulchres stripped of their marble, as it were forerunners of more indistinct ruin. Instead of the stately piles, which once impressed ideas of opulence and grandeur, we saw a marsh, a field of barley in ear, buffaloes ploughing heavily by defaced heaps and prostrate edifices, high trees supporting aged vines, and fences of stones and rubbish, with illegible inscriptions, and time-worn fragments. It was with difficulty we discovered the temple of Bacchus, but a theatre in the side of the hill is more conspicuous. The vault only, on which the seats ranged, remains, with two broken pedestals in the area. It fronted 15^m. west of south.

The city-port is partly dry, and sand banks rise above the surface of the water. On the edge are vestiges of a wall, and before it are two small islets. On the left hand, or toward the continent, is a channel, which seemed artificial, the water not deep. I saw a boy wade across it. This, unless it be the mouth of a rivulet, was probably cut; for it seems as necessary to the completion of Alexander's plan, that a communication should have been made between the sea here and the bay of Geræ, as between that and the gulf of Smyrna; and it is remarkable that Pliny reckons Teos among the islands. Beyond it, on the shore before

Sevri-hissar, which stands inland, are four or five tall barrows.

The heap of the temple of Bacchus, which was visible from the theatre, beneath, on the right hand, lay in the middle of a corn field, and is over-run with bushes and olive trees. It was one of the most celebrated structures in Ionia. The remains of it have been engraved, at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*, and published with its history, in the *Ionian Antiquities*; and a beautiful portico has since been erected at the seat of the Right Hon. Lord Le Despenser, near High Wycomb, under the inspection of Mr. Revett, in which the exact proportions of the order are observed.

The town has long been deserted. It has no ruins of churches to prove it existed under the Greek emperors; nor of mosques or baths, to shew it was frequented by the Turks. In the time of Anacreon, the Teians migrated, from a love of liberty, to Thrace, but soon afterwards came back, and the city re-flourished. They are now utterly gone, and it is likely never to return. The site is a wilderness; and the low grounds, which are wet, produce the iris, or flag, blue and white. This flower is stamped on the money of Teos. We saw cranes here stalking singly in the corn and grass, and picking up and gorging insects and reptiles; or flying heavily with long sticks in their mouths to the tops of trees, and of the remoter houses and chimnies, on which they had agreed to fix their habitation.

The master of a Venetian snow, in the harbour of Segigeeck, furnished us with a small quantity of wine, but of a poor quality; otherwise we should have drunk only water on a spot once sacred to Bacchus, and able to supply a Roman

fleet. The grave Turk, its present owner, predestines the clusters of the few vines it now bears, for his food, when ripened; or to be dried in the sun, as raisins, for sale.

CHAP. XXVIII.

*To Sevri-hissar—Quarries of marble—The town—The
Dionysiasts, &c.*

OUR apprehensions of danger from the Kara-borniotics were now at an end. We dismissed the janizary, whom we had engaged at Vourla, and on the evening of the second day after our arrival, proceeded to Sevri-hissar, distant one hour south-eastward. We came, soon after leaving Segigeck, between two conical rocks, one of a green aspect, the other brown and bare. The tall trees by the road-side were covered with spreading vines, and at a well was a marble pedestal perforated, and serving as a mouth. The front of it is inscribed with large characters,* and it once supported the statue of a great and munificent person, whose name it has not preserved.

The grey marble used by the Teians was found at no great distance from the city. The rocks above-mentioned are probably remains of the quarry, to which also the high rocky mount, about a mile north of Teos, seen in the view in the *Ionian Antiquities*, belonged. This, as Pococke relates, has, on the west-side, a small lake in a deep basin, which, it is imagined by the people, feeds all the fountains about

* Inscript. Ant. p. 7.

the country ; and to the south of the lake is a hollow ground, where are near twenty large pieces of grey marble, each cut out into several steps, of a size which would be very difficult to move. On one he saw inscribed, *ΛΟΚΟ ΙΙΙΙΙ*.

Sevri-hissar is an extensive straggling town, in a valley, two hours from the sea ; and may be deemed the Vourla of the Teians. The country round it is pleasant and well cultivated. The Greeks, though numerous, have no church. We were lodged in a wretched mud-built khan, by which is a lively brook, running west-north-westward. A stone bridge has been erected over it, and several piers remain. We had crossed it more than once on the way from Segigeck. We had here reason to dislike, and to be alarmed, at the carriage of some of our Turkish visitants, but the janizary was our safe-guard.

Many scattered remnants of the ancient city occur at Sevri-hissar.* One, fixed in the wall of a house, mentions the two societies, the Panathenaists and the Dionysiasts. At the time of the Ionic migration, a colony of Athenians took possession of Teos. These appear to have introduced the Panathenæa, the grand festival of their parent city. A crown of olive encircles the name of the community, which had the care of its celebration ; and one of ivy that of the Dionysiasts, who were artificers, or contractors for the Asiatic theatres, incorporated and settled at Teos under the kings of Pergamum.† I copied a long decree made by one of their companies in honour of its magistrates. The slab was placed as a grave-stone in a Turkish burying-ground, where the man, who shewed it me, with some assistance, laid it

* Strabo, p. 643.

† Inscript. Ant. p. 7, 8, 10.

flat, and a heavy shower falling, rendered the characters, which are large, and uninjured, easily legible. The thanks of the community, with a crown of olive, are given as a recompense for their great liberality and trouble in office; and to perpetuate their memory, and excite an emulation of their merit, it is besides enacted, that the decrees be engraved, but at their expense: so desirable was this testimony to the individuals, and so frugal the usage in bestowing it.

CHAP. XXIX.

We arrive at Hypsile—The Myonnesus—Hypsile a strong-hold.

THE next day, April the 1st, in the afternoon, the weather proving fair, we continued our journey southward; and, soon after setting out, had a low mountain on our left hand, with an opening in it, and a wide, but dry water-course, which we crossed, and then passed over hills and dales by small inclosures, regularly planted with oaks. Many of these supported vines, and between the rows was barley in ear and other grain. The valanéa, or large acorns, which they produce, are exported, chiefly to Italy, where the tanners use them instead of bark. Coming to the shore, we turned a little to the left, and ascended a very lofty hill, commanding a most extensive view of a picturesque country, of the sea-coast, and islands. Near the top is a fountain, and over it a stone, on which is cut the Greek cross. We alighted, after a pleasant ride of three hours, at Hypsile,

and were very well lodged in a large apartment, in a house belonging to a Turk of Sevri-hissar.

We are now on the promontory, anciently called Myonnesus,* between Teos and Lebedus. The summit has been described as conical, and standing on an ample base. It was accessible from the continent by a narrow track only, and was terminated toward the sea by wave-worn rocks, hanging over, and in some places projecting beyond the vessels, to which it furnished a safe station below. The Myonnesus was the property of the Teians.

Hypsile is a small village. The name, which is Greek, denotes its lofty situation. It was the strong-hold, to which Cineis, whom we have mentioned in a preceding chapter, retired before the army of Sultan Morat, and which he maintained gallantly, until his men began to mutiny. After surrendering, he was murdered here, sleeping in his tent.

CHAP. XXX.

Hot waters—In the territory of Lebedus—Some ruins—Lebedus—The island Aspis—The Dionysiasts.

WE left Hypsile at eight in the morning, and in about an hour descended into a narrow bottom, which was filled with a thick smoke or mist, occasioned, as we discovered on a nearer approach, by steam arising from a small tepid brook, called Elijah; the bed of a deep green colour. The current, which tasted like copperas, is confined in a narrow

* In D'Anville's chart, *Psili-bouroun*, corruptly for *Hypsilobounos*, *The High Mountain*.

channel below, and turns two over-shot mills, falling soon after into a stream, then shallow, but flowing from a rich vale between the mountains, in a very wide course; the bed, of stone and white sand.

We are now in the territory of Lebedus, which was noted, beyond any on the sea-coast, for hot waters. These are on record as plentiful, beneficial to the human race, and exciting admiration. The stream now supplies two mean baths on the margin, one with a large cross carved on a stone in the pavement, and chiefly used by the Greeks.

From the baths we were conducted to some ruins called *Ecclesia*, *The Church*, about half an hour distant, on the same side of the river, and beneath the mountain we had descended, or Myonnesus. They consisted of naked masses of stone and of brick, with cement, besides a very few marble fragments; and a basement, with the entire floor of a small temple; the whole environed with bushes. I rode on about a quarter of a mile to the sea, but found no port or other vestiges of buildings.

We returned to the road, and crossing a cultivated plain, with a stream or two, came in an hour and a half to the sea, and a little peninsula sown with wheat. It has a fair beach, and probably is the spot on which Lebedus stood. By the rocky edge are traces of ancient wall; and, within it, besides rubbish, are some pieces of doric columns. This city enjoyed a fertile territory, but was subverted by Lysimachus, who removed the inhabitants, when he peopled Ephesus, to the sea. It survived long as a village, and became, as it were, proverbial for its solitude. It is now untenanted, and not even a village.

Strabo has mentioned an island called *Aspis*, and by

some Arconnesus, between Teos and Lebedus ; that, I suppose, which bore by our compass 68° west of south from this spot, and which Pococke describes as a long island, about the middle of the bay, stretching to the south-west, and now called Carabash, *The Black Sash*, from some imaginary resemblance. It is omitted in D'Anville's chart of the sea-coast of Asia Minor.

The Dionysiasts, mentioned in a preceding chapter, proving turbulent and seditious, were expelled Teos. They removed to Ephesus, and from thence were translated by king Attalus to Myonnesus. The Teians sent an embassy to the Romans, requesting them not to suffer the Myonnesus to be fortified; and the Dionysiasts then removed to Lebedus, where they were received with joy. It was the custom of their synod to hold yearly a general assembly, at which they sacrificed to the gods, and poured libations to their deceased benefactors. They likewise celebrated games in honour of Bacchus. The crowns, which any of the communities had bestowed as rewards of merit, were announced by heralds; and the wearers applauded. It was the business of the presidents to provide splendid entertainments, and the meeting was solemnized with great pomp and festivity. This congress, it is probable, was held at the ruins described above, and that temple dedicated to the god, their patron.

CHAP. XXXI.

We cross a torrent—Ascend Mount Galleus—Arrive at Zillé, or Claros—Remains—Of the oracle and temple of Apollo—Of the oracular fountain and cave—Of Colophon, Notium, and Claros—No remains of the two former—We arrive at Ephesus.

LEBEDUS was equi-distant one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles, from Teos and from Colophon, near which city was Claros. We proceeded with an islet in view before us, once sacred to Diana. It was anciently believed that does, when big, swam across from the continent, and were there delivered of their young. Our guide mistook the track, and conducted us an hour out of our way. We passed through lanes, olive-groves, and corn. In two hours and a half we were suddenly stopped by a wide and very turbid river, descending from between Mount Galleus or *The Alemán*, and the southern extremity of Mount Corax, the range, which had continued on our left hand from near Teos. It is impossible perhaps to conceive greater visible rapidity, the water hurrying by with so precipitous and headlong a course, it was gone like an arrow from a bow. Our guide, after some hesitation, entered the stream, which proved shallow, reaching only to the belly of his horse. We were apprehensive a low mule, heavily laden with baggage, would be carried away, but it struggled through, and we all got over safe. We tarried the night at a village an hour farther on, high on the mountain side, and overlooking a rich plain and the sea, to the island of Samos.

In the morning, the wind, which had been northerly for some time, was very cutting. We rode among the roots of Gallesus, through pleasant thickets abounding with goldfinches. The aerial summits of this immense mountain towered on our left, clad with pines. We turned from the sea, and began to ascend a rough track between green hills; a clear stream falling by in murmuring cascades. At a distance was a village, which appeared almost in the clouds. Steep succeeded steep, as we advanced, and the path became more narrow, slippery, and uneven. We were instructed to let our bridle be loose, to sit steady, and to prevent the saddle from sliding back by grasping the manes of our horses, while they clambered up; their known sureness of foot was our confidence and security by fearful precipices and giddy heights; where, if, from being checked or by accident, they chance to fall, down you tumble many a fathom, without one friendly bush or shrub to interpose, and contribute to your preservation. After much labour and straining, we got to the top of the ridge, which is exceedingly high. Here we found the surface bare, except a few pines on one summit, beneath which some miserable cattle were standing, seemingly pinched with hunger, and ruminating on the wretchedness of their lot. We saw at a distance a vast body of water encompassed with hills, being the lake or reservoir, from which the numerous rills and rivulets on the sides of the mountain are fed. Farther in the country was a white top glistening with snow; and nearly before us, a summit remarkably craggy, which is by the lake of Myûs, and will be often mentioned. Several of our horses were lamed in this journey to the sky, which was attended with many moanings from the Armenians, their owners.

Descending Galleus, we suddenly discovered near the bottom some mean huts, immediately beneath us, on the declivity. We inquired of the inhabitants, who were Greeks, for ruins, and they directed us to Claros, now called Zillé, by the sea. We crossed a brook, which is in the middle of a cultivated vale, and entered a thick grove of olives, where some armed men started up from under a tree, and, running to the road, stopped our servants and baggage-horses. The janizary, as soon as we perceived it, galloped back, and a short parley ensued. We were informed they belonged to the Muselém, a Turkish officer of great power and extensive command, residing at Chili, distant an hour and a half toward Smyrna. Cara-Elez-Oglu then possessed that high dignity. He was famous as an excellent governor, and remarkable for his civility to the Franks or Europeans. We continued our journey to Zillé, which is by computation four hours from Goomulderé, where we lay; we arrived in six.

We were apprised of our approach to Zillé, or Claros, by vestiges of ancient sepulchres on the mountain side, close by the way, on our left hand. One which was hewn in the rock, has a narrow door-way leading into it; and within, a long horizontal niche or cavity, transverse, for the body. Farther on, and higher up, is a well of fine water; then full to the brim, and overflowing. This ridge is separated by a narrow vale from a small rocky promontory, which is encompassed with a ruinous wall of rough stone, the masonry that termed *Pseudisodomum*. We rode in at a gap or gate-way, and found a theatre of the same brown material as the wall, many pieces of marble, wells, and remnants of churches; and besides these, an imperfect time-eaten heap of a large temple.

We had a distinct view of Aiasalück, the plain of Ephesus, and the town of Scala Nova.

Claros was very early the seat of a temple and oracle of Apollo. It is related, that Chalchas, after the destruction of Troy, had an interview there with the prophet Mopsus, and died of grief on finding he was excelled in his profession.

The person, who sustained this high office, could be taken only from particular families, and was generally of Miletus, unlettered, and ignorant of composition. He was told only the number and names of the consulters; and then descended into a cave, in which was a fissure with water. After drinking of this spring, he uttered responses in verses made on the subject, on which each had thought in his own mind; but this practice was prejudicial to his health, perhaps from the dampness of the place, and he was commonly short-lived. He got by rote, I conceive, or else carried down with him, the answers ready prepared; and the god would have soon lost his reputation, had the consulters been so cunning as to have kept every one his secret from the agents and spies employed to dive into their business. The temple, which was unfinished, with the sacred grove of ash-trees, is mentioned by Pausanias among the curiosities peculiar to Ionia. It is not certain whether the oracle existed after Constantine the Great; or, when Apollo was finally silenced and dethroned; but Christianity succeeded, and has flourished in its turn at Claros.

In viewing the well on the ridge before-mentioned, I remarked it had marble steps leading down from the top; and four or five were visible below the surface. The water, which, as a peasant with me affirmed, is very deep, obscured

the remainder. There, it may be conjectured, was the prophetic fountain and cave. The passage, by which the waste current was conveyed away, has been choked from neglect or by design; and the water being confined, has filled the hollow of the rock, and the entrance to it, rising until it had liberty to escape over the margin. The superstitious use ceased with the reverence for Apollo; men unhallowed drinking of it without feeling inspiration or dreading punishment; and, perhaps, to promote a popular oblivion of the place, the enemies of the god, who destroyed his temple and grove, devised the present alteration, by the easy and obvious method of converting the cave into a reservoir.

Colophon was situated inland. Before it, besides Claros, was Notium, a town and haven bearing the same relation to it as the Piræus did to Athens, and distant near two miles. It is termed the Calophonian Notium, to distinguish it from that of Chios, a portion of the coast of the island, with a road for vessels. Colophon was only seventy stadia, or eight miles and three quarters from Ephesus in a straight course; but, by the windings of the bays, one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles. Lysimachus destroyed it, to enlarge that city; but some of the Colophonians remained at Notium, to whom the Romans granted immunities after their war with Antiochus. The Halys or Halesus ran by Colophon; and then, not far from the grove of Claros. The stream was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets. Going out of Colophon, on the left of the road, after you had passed the Calaan, perhaps a brook running into the Halys, was shewn the burying-place of Andrémon, one of the leaders in the Ionic migration; and, on the same side of the road, in the way to

Claros, that of the Smyrnéans and Colophonians, who fell fighting with the Macedonians under Lysimachus.*

Many difficulties have arisen† concerning Claros, Notium, and Colophon, which are removed by this account of their proximity and mutual connexion. Colophon was sacrificed to the grandeur of its neighbour Ephesus. The name, as at Lebedus, survived, but without its pristine importance; and Notium suffered, as it were, by sympathy. Religion and Apollo interposed to rescue Claros, and the concourse of consulters, and devotees, maintained it and the temple. But now Colophon, if its site be not occupied by the wretched huts before-mentioned, is extinct; and Claros, with Notium, has been long abandoned. The brook we crossed was the Halys. The vale on the north-side of the promontory, which it divides, has perhaps increased toward the sea, and the old haven has been filled up by soil washed from the mountains.

When we had finished our survey of Claros, we returned to some huts, and pitching our tent, lay surrounded with our baggage, men, and horses. In the morning early we passed by Zillé, and over two ridges of Gallesus. We then entered on the plain of Ephesus, and travelled along the edge toward the shore, until we came to the mouth of a lake, at which was a weir of reeds, and a bridge of three arches; but of one, more than half was broken away. My companions, with our men, crossed below it by the sea, but seeing the water deep, I dismounted and walked over. The lake is long, and extended close by us on our left almost to the river Cayster, near which we turned up from the beach.

* Pausanias, p. 208.

† See Cellarius, p. 47, 48.

We discovered soon after a fisherman's hut between the lake and the river. We were ferried over the latter in a triangular float; and in three hours arrived at Ephesus. We pitched our tent among the ruins, which are at a distance from Aiasalúck.

We had been here before, and shall now give an account of that journey.

CHAP. XXXII.

Distance of Ephesus from Smyrna—To Sedicui—To the sources of a river—To Tourbali—Of the Turcoman—Their booths—To the Cayster—Arrive at Aiasalúck—Relation of a journey in 1705.

THE two cities Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor. They were distant from each other three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles in a straight line. On the road, one hundred and twenty from Ephesus, was a town called Metropolis. Aiasalúck is now reckoned fourteen hours from Smyrna.

We left the consul's house on Sunday, the last day of September, in the forenoon, and passing the river Meles, rode with the castle hill of Smyrna on our right hand, to a gap in the wall of the pomærium. We crossed the bed of the torrent, and soon arrived at Sedicui, a small but pleasant village, about two hours distant. We passed the night at a house, which Mr. Lee, who had accompanied us, rented of a Turk; the asylum, where afterwards we had refuge from the plague and Smyrna.

We were on horseback again at five in the morning, be-

fore day-break, going southward. A string of camels was in motion at the same time, the foremost with a bell fastened about his neck, and tinkling. The dawn soon after began to disclose the blue tops of the mountains, and the sun rising coloured the sky with a rich variety of tints. The air was soft and fragrant. We passed by an ordinary bridge or two over water courses, then dry; and, through a wet bottom, and a heath covered with pines, wild thyme, and many large thickets of myrtle in flower. On the slopes of the mountains were several villages. We dismounted about eight at a coffee-shed standing by the side of the road near a hut, called Olalanazzi. One of the rivers, which we crossed in travelling along the coast, rises there from four heads. The streams soon unite in a clear brook, and wind in the shade over a clean gravelly bed, with gentle cascades and a pleasing murmur. In it were many small fishes and tortoises. Each source is enveloped with bushes of myrtle, intermixed with plane-trees; and the hut is between two, about fifty yards asunder. The agreeable freshness and verdure produced by these lively currents, afford a most grateful relief to the thirsty sun-burnt traveller. That the ancient Ionians were not insensible to the charms of the spot, may be inferred from the vestiges of building near it, and from the remnants of marble.

After drinking coffee we went on, and entering a hollow way shaded with pines, came in view of a ruined caravansarâ, or building for the reception of travellers, near an extensive plain. Here a stream descends through a pleasant vale, in which are some scattered cottages, named Terrenda, with a mill, by which we dined on a green plat, when we returned.

Among the low bushes, on a gentle rising close by, are

some marble fragments ; and, searching about, we found by the road an inscription,† which has belonged to an ancient sepulchre. It was well cut, on a square stone, and perhaps near the site of the edifice. At ten we passed by Hortená, a straggling village. On the left hand is a small Turkish burying ground by a fountain, and vestiges of building. We arrived an hour after at Tourbali, where we dined by a well near the khan under a spreading tree, and were much incommoded by dust and wind. The roof of the stable was supported by broken columns, and in the wall was a piece of doric frieze, with some fragments removed, it is likely, from the ruins of Metropolis.

We were told here, that the road farther on was beset with Turcomans; a people supposed to be descended from the Nomades, Scythæ, or *Shepherd Scythians*; busied, as of old, in breeding and nurturing cattle; and leading, as then, an unsettled life; not forming villages and towns with stable habitations, but flitting from place to place, as the season and their convenience directs; chusing their stations, and overspreading without control, the vast neglected pastures of this desert empire. These wanderers were early a nuisance to the Greeks, and in a treaty with one of the sultans, the emperor requires him to punish as many of them as were his subjects, and had trespassed on their territories.‡ They are there said to live by theft and robbery, an article in which likewise the uniformity of character has been preserved. They vary in savageness and violence, as the respective clans happen to be, more or less, humanized by social intercourse, and attention to civil life.

† Inscript. Ant. p. 11.

‡ Cinnamus, l. 4. p. 225.

The aga of Tourbala, and our Armenians, would have persuaded us to stay until the next morning, but as it was not yet noon, we resolved to go on. The aga then appointed a Turk to accompany us as a guide and safe-guard, asserting that he was responsible to Elez-Oglu, if any stranger suffered on that road. We set out, and had on our right Depueci, a village, in which we could discern a large, square, ruinous edifice, with spaces for windows. Soon after we came to a wild country covered with thickets, and with the black booths of the Turcomans, spreading on every side, innumerable, with flocks, and herds, and horses, and poultry, feeding round them. We crossed an extensive level plain, over-run with bushes, but missed Metropolis, of which some vestiges remain;† our guide leading us to the left of the direct road from Smyrna to Ephesus.

About three o'clock we approached a valley, which divides two very lofty mountains. The extremity of Galleus, or *The Alemán*, which was on our right, is covered with trees, rising beautifully in regular gradation up the slope. The other, opposite to it, is quite bare and naked. We now perceived four men riding briskly toward us, abreast, well mounted and armed. Our janizary and Armenians halted, as they passed, and faced about until they were gone beyond our baggage. We came soon after to a fountain, and a coffee hut, above which, on the mountain-side, is Osbenár, a Turkish village. We then discovered on our left a ruined bridge, and the river Cayster, which met us again at four, the water still and apparently stagnant, the banks steep. A castle, visible afar off, stands on the summit of Galleus.

† See Wheeler and Chishull.

We turned westward at the end of the opening between the mountains, and had on our left a valley, bounded by a mountain called anciently Pactyas. The road lay at the foot of Gallesus, beneath precipices of a stupendous height, abrupt and inaccessible. In the rock are many holes inhabited by eagles; of which several were soaring high in the air, with rooks and crows clamouring about them so far above us, as hardly to be discernible. By the way was a well, and part of a marble sarcophagus, or coffin, on which were carved heads and festoons. The Cayster, which had been concealed in the valley, now appeared again; and we had in view before us the round hill and stately castle of Aiasalúck, very seasonably for man and horse, both jaded with heat and wanting rest. Mount Pactyas here retires with a circular sweep, while Gallesus preserves its direction to the sea, which is the western boundary of the plain. This has been computed five miles long. The Cayster met us near the entrance on it; and we passed over an ordinary bridge, a little below which are pieces of veined marble, polished, the remnants of a structure more worthy Ephesus. The stream was shallow, but formed a basin crossed by a weir of reeds. We purchased some live mullet of the fisherman who was there. A narrow track, winding through rubbish and loose stones round the castle-hill, brought us in about half an hour more to Aiasalúck.

I shall insert here an account of a journey to Aiasalúck in 1705, from an imperfect dairy,* found among Chishull's

* In the possession of John Loveday, Esq. of Caversham, near Reading.

The other gentlemen were the Rev. John Tiffer, chaplain to the English factory; and Cutts Lockwood, and John Lethieullier, two capital merchants, of great spirit and generosity.

papers, written in Latin by Dr. Antony Picenini, a Grison, who happened to be then at Smyrna, joined in company with consul Sherrard, and other gentlemen of the English nation. They set out on the 13th of August, at four in the afternoon, and, passing through the plain of Bujaw, came about five to a little hill, and a rivulet then dry; and, after riding about three hours, pitched their tents by a small village, called Sinofocheli. They set out again the next morning before six, through an uncultivated plain; and after two hours crossed a narrow but deep stream, which he calls Halesus; going on in this plain, the road good, they observed, in less than two hours, some vestiges of an aqueduct reaching toward a village on their left; where also were ruins on a hill. A wide paved way led through cultivated fields to the mountain-foot, toward the left, where they halted to rest about noon in a wood. They had seen fragments of columns and other remains of Metropolis. They proceeded at three, and soon had the Cayster on their left, and the castle on the precipice in view. This was then called Kezel-hissar, *The Castle of the Goats*, perhaps as scarcely accessible but to those animals. They turned, as we did, westward; and at six arrived at Aiasalück in thirteen hours from Smyrna.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Aiasalück—The evening—Remains—The castle—The mosque—
The aqueduct—An ancient bridge.*

AIASALUCK is a small village, inhabited by a few Turkish families, standing chiefly on the south side of the castle-hill, among thickets of tamarisk and ruins. It was dusk when

we alighted, lamenting the silence and complete humiliation, as we conceived, of Ephesus. The caravanserá, to which we had been directed, was exceedingly mean and wretched. A marble coffin, freed from the human dust, served as a water-trough to a well in the front. Some figures holding Roman ensigns have been carved on it; and, as we learn from the inscription,* it once contained the bodies of a captain of a trireme, named the Griffin, together with his wife. Close by, some tall camels, just arrived, stood pensive; or with their knees tied, to prevent their rising from the ground, mildly waited the removal of their burthens.

The caravanserá being full, we were distressed for a place to lodge in, but after some time a Turk offered us a shed by his cottage, open to the south-east, the roof and sides black with smoke. Some martens had made their nests against the rafters; and we were told, their visits were deemed to portend good, and that the Turks wished them to frequent their apartments, leaving a passage for their admission. Our horses were disposed among the walls and rubbish, with their saddles on; and a mat was spread for us on the ground. We sate here, in the air, while supper was preparing; when suddenly, fires began to blaze up among the bushes, and we saw the villagers collected about them in savage groups, or passing to and fro with lighted brands for torches. The flames, with the stars and a pale moon, afforded us a dim prospect of ruin and desolation. A shrill owl, named Cucuvaia from its note, with a night-hawk, flitted near us; and a jackall cried mournfully, as if forsaken by his companions on the mountain.

* See Hesselius, Append. ad Gudium.

We retired early in the evening to our shed, not without some sensations of melancholy, which were renewed at the dawn of day. We had then a distinct view of a solemn and most forlorn spot: a neglected castle, a grand mosque, and a broken aqueduct, with mean cottages, and ruinous buildings, interspersed among wild thickets, and spreading to a considerable extent. Many of the scattered structures are square, with domes, and have been baths. Some grave-stones occurred, finely painted and gilded, and fairly embossed, as the Turkish manner is, with characters in relief. But the castle, the mosque, and the aqueduct, are alone sufficient evidences, as well of the former greatness of the place, as of its importance.

The castle is a large and barbarous edifice, the wall built with square towers. You ascend to it over heaps of stones intermixed with scraps of marble. An out-work, which secured the approach, consisted of two lateral walls from the body of the fortress, with a gate-way. This faces the sea, and is supported, on each side, by a huge and awkward buttress, constructed chiefly with the seats of a theatre or stadium, many of them marked with Greek letters. Several fragments of inscriptions* are inserted in it, or lie near. Over the arch are four pieces of ancient sculpture. The two in the middle are in alto relievo, of most exquisite workmanship, and evidently parts of the same design; one, representing, it seems, the death of Patroclus; the other, plainly the bringing of his body to Achilles. The third exhibits a corpse, it is likely that of Hector, with women lamenting; is in basso relievo, not so wide, and, besides, differs so much, that

* See Hesselius.

it can be considered as connected with the former only in having a reference to the *Iliad*. These were carefully drawn by Mr. Pars; and two of them, the first and last, may be seen, engraved by Bartolozzi, in Mr. Wood's *Essay on Homer*. The fourth is carved with boys and vine-branches, is narrower, and much injured.* Within the castle are a few huts, an old mosque, and a great deal of rubbish. If you move a stone here, it is a chance but you find a scorpion under it.

The grand mosque is situated beneath the castle, westward. The side next the foot of the hill is of stone; the remainder, of veined marble, polished. The two domes are covered with lead, and each is adorned with the Mahometan crescent. In front is a court, in which was a large fountain to supply the devout mussulman with water, for the purifications required by his law. The broken columns are remains of a portico. The three entrances of the court, the door-ways of the mosque, and many of the window-cases have mouldings in the Saracenic style, with sentences, as we supposed, from the *Koran*, in Arabic characters, handsomely cut. The windows have wooden frames, and are latticed with wire. The inside is mean, except the *kibl  *, or portion toward Mecca, which is ornamented with carving, painting, and gilding. The minaret is fallen. We found a long Greek inscription† nearly effaced, in the wall of the side next to Gallesus. The fabric was raised with old materials. The large granite columns, which sustain the roof, and the marbles, are spoils from ancient Ephesus.

The aqueduct, on the opposite side of the castle-hill, reaches from the foot quite across the plain, eastward to

* See Tournefort. † See Pococke, *Ins.* p. 19 n. 15.

mount Pactyas. The piers are square and tall, and many in number, with arches of brick. They are constructed chiefly with inscribed pedestals; on one of which is the name of Atticus Herodes, whose statue it has supported. We copied, or collated several, but found none which have not been published. The minute diligence of earlier collectors had been extended to the unimportant fragments, and even single words within reach, from the first to the forty-fifth pier.* The marbles yet untouched would furnish a copious and curious harvest, if accessible. The downfall of some may be expected continually, from the tottering condition of the fabric; and time and earthquakes will supply the want of ladders, for which the traveller wishes in vain at a place, where, if a tall man, he may almost overlook the houses. The water was conveyed in earthen pipes, and, it has been surmised, was that of a famous spring named Halitæa. It is now intercepted, no moisture trickling from the extremity of the duct on the mountain. The ruin abounds in snakes. We saw a very long one twisting between the stones, which are not accurately joined; and the peasants with us attacked and killed it. We likewise disturbed many cameleons and lizards, which were basking in the sun. We were in danger near the village from large fierce dogs, which the boys encouraged to worry and to attack us.

In the way from Aiasalück to Guzel-hissar or Magnesia, by the *Mæander*, about four or five miles distant, is a narrow woody valley, with a stream, over which is an ancient bridge of three arches. Two long lines, one in Latin, the

* See Hesselius.

other in Greek, are inscribed on it, and inform us, it was dedicated to the Ephesian Diana, the emperor Cæsar Augustus, Tiberius Cæsar his son, and to the people of Ephesus; and also that Pollio, a Roman, erected it at his own expense.* This fabric has been deformed by a subsequent addition; the three arches now sustaining six, intended to convey a current of water across the valley, probably to the aqueduct of Aiasalúck.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Aiasalúck not Ephesus—Tamerlane at Aiasalúck—History of the two places confounded—Origin of Aiasalúck—Thunder-storm—A flood.

AIASALUCK has had an affinity with Ephesus similar to that of Sevri-hissar with Teos. We found no theatre, nor stadium, nor temple. The whole was patch-work, composed of marbles and fragments removed from their original places, and put together without elegance or order. We were convinced that we had not arrived yet at Ephesus, before we discovered the ruins of that city; which are by the mountains, nearer the sea, visible from the castle-hill, and distant above half a mile.

A change in the names of places, with the new settlements, which had been established under the Turks, renders it difficult to follow Tamerlane in his marches through Asia Minor; but from Guzel-hissar, or Magnesia, by the Mæander, he

* Inscript. Ant. p. 11.

came to Aiazlik or Aiasalúck. There also he encamped after subduing Smyrna in 1402. The events recorded of Ephesus, posterior to this date, belong, it seems, to Aiasalúck, and its citadel or castle.

Two years after the invasion by Tamerlane, Cineis, it is related, took Ephesus from Amir, sultan of Smyrna, who retired to Mantakhia, his uncle, prince of Caria. Amir, returning with six thousand men, besieged and set fire to the town. The father of Cineis, who commanded there with three thousand men, maintained the citadel while he had hopes of succour. Cineis again attacked Ephesus, and drove Amir in his turn into the citadel. These chieftains were reconciled, and Cineis by the death of Amir became a sovereign. Sultan Solyman advanced against him with a large army from Prusa, by Smyrna, to Mesaulion; where he intrenched. Cineis had prevailed on the princes of Cotyæium and Iconium, to join him at Ephesus, and the two armies were only six leagues asunder; when, apprehending treachery in his allies, he galloped to the citadel, exhorted his brother not to give it up before the following day, and at night repaired to the camp of Solyman. The two princes retreated with their forces at sun-rise, fording the river on one side; while the sultan crossed it over a bridge, by Mount Gallesus, and entered Ephesus. The citadel is here distinguished so plainly, that a person, who has seen the places, will scarcely hesitate to pronounce that the Ephesus of Cineis, was the Aiasalúck of Tamerlane.

Aiasalúck has certainly flourished chiefly, if not solely, under the Mahometans. Its origin may with probability be referred to the thirteenth century. It is related, that Mantakhia, before-mentioned, subdued Ephesus with Caria in

1313. He perhaps fortified this rock for a strong-hold, and the town grew under its protection. The mosque and aqueduct, as well as the castle, are great though inelegant structures. They suggest the idea, that the place has been honoured with the residence of princes, and it is likely, were erected under him and his nephew Amir. The marble materials of ancient Ephesus, then in ruins, were amassed for these buildings, which have contributed largely to the present nakedness of its site.

On the second evening of our stay at Aiasalück, heavy clouds began to arrive apace, with a southerly wind, and to settle upon the mountains round us; when all became black and gloomy. At night frequent flashes of pale lightning, each making a momentary day, gleamed into the plain; while awful thunder, prolonged by repeated reverberations, moved solemnly along upon the summits. The explosions were near, and loud, and dreadful, far beyond any I ever heard before. Well might the devout heathén, unskilled in natural causes, ascribe to a present deity so grand an operation; and while the tremendous God drove, as he conceived, his terrible chariot through the darkness, tremble at the immense display of his power, and be filled with apprehension of his wrath.

The rain, pouring down violently in large drops, soon made its way through our slender shed, and fell plentifully on us and our bedding, tinged with soot and dirt. Our horses were without shelter, and our men in an instant wet to the skin. It held up again about ten in the morning, and we crossed the plain to the ruins of Ephesus, but soon after the thunder and rain re-commenced, and forced us to return. In the afternoon the plain was deluged with water

from the mountains, running down like a torrent, and rendering it, in many places, impassable. The aga of Aiasalück being absent, we visited his deputy, our men carrying, as usual, some coffee and small loaves of sugar as a present. He received us very graciously, sitting cross-legged on the roof of an old bath, which was his habitation.

CHAP. XXXV.

Ephesus—The stadium—The theatre—The odæum, &c.—The gymnasium—A street—Another—A temple—Square tower—Extent of the city—Avenues—Prion, a mountain of marble—A place of burial—The quarries, &c.

EPHESUS was situated by the mountains, which are the southern boundary of the plain, and comprehended within its wall a portion of Mount Prion and of Corissus. Mount Prion is a circular hill resembling that of Aiasalück, but much larger. Corissus is a single lofty ridge, extending northward from near Mount Pactyas and approaching Prion, then making an elbow and running westwardly toward the sea. This city as well as Smyrna was built by Lysimachus, who also enrolled its senate, and provided for its civil government.

We entered Ephesus from Aiasalück with Mount Prion and the exterior lateral wall of a stadium, which fronted the sea, on our left hand. Going on and turning, we passed that wing of the building, and the area opened to us. We measured it with a tape, and found it six hundred and eighty seven feet long. The side next the plain was raised on vaults, and faced with the strong wall before mentioned. The opposite

side, which overlooks it, and the upper end, both rested on the slope of the hill. The seats, which ranged in numerous rows one above another, have all been removed; and of the front only a few marbles remain with an arch,* which terminates the left wing, and was one of the avenues provided for the spectators. Upon the key-stone of the back front is a small mutilated figure. This part of the fabric was restored, or repaired, when the city had declined in splendour, and was partly ruinous; for it is composed of marbles, which have belonged to other buildings. A bass relief, rudely carved, is inserted in it; and several inscriptions, effaced, or too high to be read; besides fragments, some with Roman letters.

The preaching of St. Paul produced a tumult at Ephesus, the people rushing into the theatre, and shouting "Great is Diana." The vestiges of this structure, which was very capacious, are further on in the side of the same mountain. The seats and the ruins of the front are removed. In both wings are several architectural fragments; and prying about the side next to the stadium, we discovered an inscription† over an arch, once one of the avenues, and closed up perhaps to strengthen the fabric. It bids the reader, if he approached not the festive scene, still to be pleased with the achievements of the architect, who had saved the vast circle of the theatre; all-conquering Time having yielded to the succour he had contrived. That it is of a low age, may be inferred from the form of the characters, and from the ligatures, which render it difficult to be deciphered. The early advocates for Christianity inveighed against the fashionable diversions; but the public relish for the stage, for the athletic exercises, races,

* See a view of this arch in Le Bruu, p. 31.

† See Inscript. Ant. p. II.

and spectacles, was inveterate ; and the theatre, the stadium, and the like places of resort, continued to be frequented long after them, even at Ephesus :

Going on from the theatre, which had a stoa, or portico, annexed to it, as may be collected from the pedestals and bases of columns ranging along on this side, and concealed partly in the ground, you come to a narrow valley, which divides Mount Prion from Corissus. Near the entrance, in a small water-course, was a marble with an inscription, which I copied ;† and we could discern a few letters on another stone overwhelmed with rubbish. Close by were ruins of a church, and a stone carved with the Greek cross. Within the valley, you find broken columns and pieces of marble, with vestiges of an odéum, or music-theatre, in the slope of Prion. This, which was not a large structure, is stripped of the seats, and naked. Near it are some piers with small arches, each of a single stone, almost buried in soil. It is a precept of Vitruvius, that the odéum be on the left hand coming from the theatre.

Beyond the odéum the valley opens gradually into the plain of Aiasalück. Keeping round by Prion, you meet with vestiges of buildings, and come to the remains of a large edifice resembling that with an arcade at Troas. The top of one of the niches is painted with waves and fishes, and among the fragments lying in the front are two trunks of statues, of great size, without heads, and almost buried ; the drapery, which is in both the same, remarkable. This huge building was the Gymnasium, which is mentioned as *behind* the city. We pitched our tent among its ruins, when we

† Inscrip. Ant. p. 11.

arrived from Claros, and were employed on it three days, in taking a plan and view. We had a letter of recommendation from a Turkish officer at Smyrna, to the aga of Aiasalâck: but, not going thither, he sent to require of us *bac-shish*, and was easily gratified. We then found the area of the stadium green with corn, and the site in general over-run with fennel in seed, the stalks strong and tall. Some traces, which, in the autumn before had been plain, were not discernible.

We return now to the entrance of the city from Aiasalâck. That street was nearly of the length of the stadium, which ranged along one side. The opposite side was composed of edifices equally ample and noble. The way was between a double colonnade, as we conjectured, from the many pedestals and bases of columns scattered there. These fabrics were all raised high above the level of the plain, and have their vaulted substructions yet entire.

This street was crossed by one leading from the plain, toward the valley before mentioned, which had on the left the front of the stadium, and the theatre, with the portico adjoining. On the right are ample substructions; and opposite to the stadium, lies a basin of white marble streaked with red, about fifteen feet in diameter, once belonging to a fountain; with some shafts of small pillars near it almost buried in earth. The ruins on this side are pieces of massive wall, which have been incrustured, as appears from holes bored for affixing the marble; and ordinary arches, of brick, among which are fragments of columns of red granite. These remains reach as far as the portico, and have behind them a morass, once the city-port. By the highest of them is the entrance of a souterrain; which extends underneath; these buildings having been erected on a low and marshy spot.

Opposite to the portico is a vacant quadrangular space, with many bases of columns and marble fragments scattered along the edges. Here, it is probable, was the agora, or *market-place*, which in maritime towns was generally near the port; in inland, near the centre; and commonly built with colonnades. The other remains are perhaps of the arsenals, and of the public treasury, the prison, and the like buildings; which in the Greek cities were usually by the market-place.*

We are now at the end of the street, and near the entrance of the valley between Prion and Corissus. Here, turning toward the sea, you have the market-place on the right hand; on the left, the sloping side of Corissus, and presently the prostrate heap of a temple, which fronted 22^m east of north. The length was about one hundred and thirty feet, the breadth eighty. The cell or nave was constructed with large coarse stones. The portico was marble, of the Corinthian order. The temple was *in Antis*, or of the Eustyle species, and had four columns between the *antæ*. We found their capitals, and also one of a pilaster. The diameter of the column is four feet and about six inches; their length thirty-nine feet two inches, but including the base and capital forty-six feet and more than seven inches. The shafts were fluted, and though their dimensions are so great, each of one stone. The most entire of them is broken into two pieces. On the frieze was carved a bold foliage with boys. The ornaments in general are extremely rich, but much injured. This perhaps was the temple erected at Ephesus by permission of Augustus Cæsar to the god Julius, or that dedicated to Claudius Cæsar on his apotheosis.

* Vitruvius, l. i. c. 7.

About a mile farther on is a root of Corissus, running out toward the plain, and ending in an abrupt precipice. Upon this is a square tower, one of many belonging to the city wall, and still standing. We rode to it along the mountain side, but that way is steep and slippery. Near it are remnants of some edifice. Among the bushes beneath, we found a square altar of white marble, well preserved. On the top is an offering, like a pine apple; perhaps intended to represent a species of cake. On the face a ram's head is carved, and a couple of horns filled with fruit; the ends twined together. The eminence commands a lovely prospect of the river Cayster, which there crosses the plain from near Galleus, with a small but full stream, and with many luxuriant meanders.

The extent of the city toward the plain, on which side it was washed by the Cayster, cannot now be ascertained; but the mountainous region has preserved its boundary, the wall erected by Lysimachus, which is of excellent masonry. It may be traced from behind the stadium over Mount Prion, standing often above twenty feet high. It crossed the valley, in which is a thick piece, with a gap of a gate-way; the stones regularly placed, large, rough, and hard. From thence it ascended Mount Corissus, and is seen ranging along the lofty brow, almost entire, except near the precipice, where it ceases. On Mount Prion, which I rambled quite over, are likewise remnants of an exterior wall. This, from its direction, seems to have descended, and inclosed the Gymnasium, which was without the city; forming a pomærium by uniting with the wall on Corissus, which begins from a precipice beyond the valley.

The avenues of the ancient cities were commonly beset

with sepulchres. The vaults of these edifices, stripped of their marble, occur near the entrance of Ephesus from Aiasalück, where was once a gate; and again by the Gymnasium, both on Prion and Corissus; on each side of the approach to the gate in the valley; and also about the abrupt precipice, without the city wall. The vaults along the slope of Corissus, in the way thither, shew that the Ephesians buried likewise within the city. It is recorded that a sophist of Miletus was interred in the market-place, in the principal part of Ephesus, where he had lived. The gate next the sea, was that by the precipice; from which, going on at the bottom, you come to a gap in Mount Corissus, cut, it is likely, to open a commodious way to Nephelis, now Scala Nova, and to the places on the coast. The gate toward Smyrna was probably in the plain; for the ancient road was over Gallesus.

Mount Pion, or Prion, is among the curiosities of Ionia enumerated by Pausanius.* It has served as an inexhaustible magazine of marble, and contributed largely to the magnificence of the city. Its bowels are excavated. The Ephesians, it is related, when they first resolved to provide an edifice worthy of their Diana, were met to agree on importing materials. The quarries then in use were remote, and the expense, it was foreseen, would be prodigious. At this time, a shepherd happened to be feeding his flock on the mountain, and two rams fighting, one of them missed his antagonist, and, striking the rock with his horn, broke off a crust of very white marble. He ran into the city with this specimen, which was received with excess of joy. He was

* P. 210.

highly honoured for his accidental discovery, and finally canonized; the Ephesians changing his name from Pyxodorus to Evangelus, *The good Messenger*; and enjoining their chief magistrate, under a penalty to visit the spot, and to sacrifice to him monthly, which custom continued in the age of Augustus Cæsar.*

The author above cited mentions Prion as a mountain of a remarkable nature. He meant perhaps some property of preserving or consuming the dead, of which it has been a principal repository. In the records of our religion it is ennobled as the burying place of St. Timothy, the companion of St. Paul, and the first bishop of Ephesus, whose body was afterwards translated to Constantinople by the founder of that city, or his son Constantius, and placed with St. Luke and St. Andrew in the church of the Apostles. The story of St. John the Evangelist was deformed in an early age with gross fiction; but he also was interred at Ephesus, and, as appears from one narration, in this mountain.†

In the side of Prion, not far from the Gymnasium, are cavities with mouths, like ovens, made to admit the bodies, which were thrust in, head or feet foremost. One has an inscription on the plane of the rock, beginning, as usual, *This is the monument, &c.* The traces of numerous sepulchres may be likewise seen. Then follows, farther on, a wide aperture or two, which are avenues to the interior quarries, of a romantic appearance, with hanging precipices; and in one is the ruin of a church, of brick, the roof arched, the ceiling plaster or stucco, painted in streaks corresponding with the mouldings. Many names of persons and sentences

* Vitruv. l. x. c. 7. † See Cave.

are written on the wall, in Greek and Oriental characters. This perhaps is the oratory or church of St. John, which was rebuilt by the emperor Justinian. It is still frequented, and had a path leading to it through tall strong thistles. Near it are remnants of brick buildings, and of sepulchres, with niches cut, some horizontally, in the rock. Going on, you come to the entrance into Ephesus from Aiasalück. The quarries in the mountain have numberless mazes, and vast, awful, dripping caverns. In many are chippings of marble and marks of the tools. I found chippings also above by the mouths, which supplied marble for the city-wall, and saw huge pieces lying among the bushes at the bottom. The view down the steep and solemn precipice was formidable. A flock of crows, disturbed at my approach, flew out with no small clamour.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of old Ephesus—The city of the Ionians—An oracle—Of Androclus—The city of Lysimachus—The port—Modern history of Ephesus—Its decline—The present Ephesians—Its deplorable condition.

To complete the local history of Ephesus, we must deduce it from a period of remote antiquity. Prion had in former times been called *Lepre Acte*; and a part behind Prion was still called *the back of Lepre*, when Strabo wrote. Smyrna, a portion of the first Ephesus, was near the gymnasium, *behind* the city of Lysimachus, and between Lepre or Prion, and a spot called Tracheia beyond Corissus. When the Ionians arrived, Androclus, their leader, protected the

natives, who had settled, from devotion, by the temple of Diana, and incorporated some of them with his followers ; but expelled those, who inhabited the town above.*

The city of Androclus was by the athenéum or a temple of Minerva, which was *without* the city of Lysimachus, and by the fountain called Hypelæus, or that *under the olive tree* ; taking in part of the mountainous region by Corissus or of Tracheia. This was the city which Cræsus besieged, and the Ephesians presented for an offering to their goddess, annexing it by a rope to her temple, which was distant seven stadia, or a mile, wanting half a quarter.

It is related, that Androclus with the Ephesians, invaded, and got possession of the Island of Samos. It was then debated, where to fix their abode. An oracle was consulted, and gave for answer, " A fish should shew them, and a wild hog conduct them." Some fishermen breakfasting on the spot, where afterwards was the fountain called Hypelæus, near *the sacred port*, one of the fish leaping from the fire with a coal, fell on some chaff, which lighting, communicated with a thicket, and the flames disturbed a wild hog lying in it. This animal ran over great part of the Tracheia, and was killed with a javelin, where afterwards was the athenéum or temple of Minerva.† The reverse of a medalion of the emperor Macrinus, struck by the Ephesians, which has been otherwise interpreted, plainly refers to this story.‡ The Ionians removed to the continent, and founded their city, with a temple of Diana by the market place, and of Apollo

* Strabo, p. 633, p. 640. Pausanias, p. 207.

† Athenæus, l. 8. p. 361.

‡ See Museum Florentinum v. 4. pl. lxi. and v. 6, p. 85.

Pythius by the port ; the oracle having been obtained and fulfilled by the favour of these deities.

Androclus, assisting the people of Priene against the Carians, fell in battle. His body was carried away and buried by the Ephesians. Pausanias relates, that his monument, on which was placed a man armed, continued to be shewn in his time, near the road going from the temple of Diana by the olympium, toward the Magnesian gate.* His posterity had possessed hereditary honours under Tiberius Cæsar. They were titular kings, wore purple, and carried in their hands a wand or sceptre. They had, moreover, precedence at the games, and a right of admission to the Eleusinian mysteries.

The temple of Diana, which rose on the contributions of all Asia, produced a desertion of the city of Androclus. The Ephesians came down from the mountainous region, or Tracheia, and settled in the plain by it, where they continued to the time of Alexander. They were then unwilling to remove into the present city ; but a heavy rain falling, and Lysimachus stopping the drains, and flooding their houses, they were glad to exchange.

The port had originally a wide mouth, but foul with mud, lodged in it from the Cayster. Attalus Philadelphus and his architects were of opinion, that, if the entrance were contracted, it would become deeper, and in time be capable of receiving ships of burthen. But the slime, which had before been moved by the flux and reflux of the sea, and carried off, being stopped, the whole basin quite to the mouth was rendered shallow. The morass, of which I had a perfect view

* P. 207. He wrote about the year of the Christian era, 175.

from the top of Prion, was this port. It communicates with the Cayster, as might be expected, by a narrow mouth; and at the water edge by the ferry, as well as in other places, may be seen the wall intended to embank the stream, and give it force by confinement. The masonry is of the kind termed *Incertum*, in which the stones are of various shapes, but nicely joined. The situation was so advantageous as to overbalance the inconveniencies attending the port. The town increased daily, and under the Romans was accounted the most considerable emporium of Asia within Mount Taurus.*

Toward the end of the eleventh century, Ephesus experienced the same fortune as Smyrna. A Turkish pirate, named Tangripermes, settled there. But the Greek admiral, John Ducas, defeated him in a bloody battle, and pursued the flying Turks up the Mæander. In 1306, it was among the places which suffered from the exactions of the grand- duke Roger, and two years after, it surrendered to sultan Saysan, who, to prevent future insurrections, removed most of the inhabitants to Tyriæum, where they were massacred. The transactions, in which mention is made of Ephesus after this period, belong, as has been already observed, to its neighbour and successor Aiasalück.

Ephesus appears to have subsisted as an inconsiderable place for some time. The inhabitants being few, and the wall of Lysimachus too extensive to be defended, or too ruinous to be repaired, it was found expedient or necessary to contract their boundary, by erecting an ordinary wall, which descends from near the stadium on one hand, and on the

* Strabo, p. 641.

other, from the wall on Mount Prion, toward the morass or port, not including the market-place. The difficulty of rendering even this small portion tenable, seems to have produced the removal to Aiasalúck, as a situation more safe and commodious. A farther motive may be added, that the port through time and neglect was changed, and become a nuisance, rather than of public utility.

The Ephesians are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependance, and insensibility; the representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness; some, the substructions of the glorious edifices which they raised; some, beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions; and some, by the abrupt precipice, in the sepulchres, which received their ashes. We employed a couple of them to pile stones, to serve instead of a ladder, at the arch of the stadium, and to clear a pedestal of the portico by the theatre from rubbish. We had occasion for another to dig at the Corinthian temple; and, sending to the stadium, the whole tribe, ten or twelve, followed; one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre, and at times striking the sounding board with the fingers of his left hand in concert with the strings. One of them had on a pair of sandals of goat-skin, laced with thongs, and not uncommon. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front.

Such are the present citizens of Ephesus, and such is the condition to which that renowned city has been gradually reduced. It was a ruinous place, when the emperor Justinian filled Constantinople with its statues, and raised his church of St. Sophia on its columns. Since then it has been

almost quite exhausted. Its streets are obscured, and overgrown. A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries seemed to insult its silence. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and of the stadium. The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was there nursed by apostles, and fostered by general councils, until it increased to fullness of stature, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Selenusian lakes—A fishery—The Cayster—Road on Gallesus—New land—Port Panormus—The island Syrie.

IN the plain of Ephesus were anciently two lakes,* formed partly by stagnant water from the river Selinus, which ran near the artemisium, or temple of Diana, probably from Mount Gallesus. The kings had taken from the goddess the revenue arising from them, which was great; but it was restored by the Romans. The publicans then forced her to pay taxes. Artemidorus was sent ambassador to Rome, and pleaded successfully her privilege of exemption, for which and his other services the city erected a statue of him in gold. A temple in a bottom by one of the lakes was said to have been founded by Agamemnon.†

The reader may recollect, that, coming from Claros, we

* *Templum Dianæ complexi e diversis regionibus due Seliauntes. Pliny.*

† Strabo, p. 387. p. 642.

crossed the mouth of a lake, and afterwards rode along by its side. This was the lower Selenusia. Near the ferry we discovered the other, a long lake, parallel with the first, and extending across the plain. The weir, which we saw, will inform us what were the riches of these waters. Ephesus was greatly frequented, and the receptacle of all who journeyed into the east, from Italy and Grece. A fishery, so near to so populous a mart, must have been an article equally convenient to the city, and profitable to the proprietor. Some pieces of building, with cement, remain by the river side above the ferry.

The river Cayster, after entering the plain, runs by Galleus, and crosses above the lakes, opposite the square tower. Lower down, it leaves but a narrow pass, obstructed with thickets, at the foot of the mountain. It then becomes wider and deeper ; and mingles, the stream still and smooth, with the sea. On the banks, and in the morass or port, and in the lake near the ferry, we saw thick groves of tall reeds, some growing above twenty feet high ; and, it is observable, that the river-god is represented, on the Ephesian medals, with this aquatic as one of his attributes.

An ordinary bridge of three arches is built over the river, at the foot of Gallesus. The road on that mountain has been hewn in the rock. Our Armenians told us the work was done by St. Paul, with a single stroke of a scymitar. Some caravans still use it ; crossing the plain and the mouth of the morass or port to the gap below the square tower, or ferrying over the Cayster lower down in a boat with a rope, and proceeding to Scala Nova, without touching at Aiasalück.

The Cayster has its rise up in the country among the

hills formerly called Cilbianian. It brings down many rivers, with a lake once called the Pegaséan; which was driven into it by the Pyrrhites,* a furious stream, as may be inferred from the name. The slime, which is collected in its course, propagates new land. The sea once acted by its flux and reflux on the port of Ephesus, which has been diminished in proportion as the soil has increased and become firm ground. The river also has perhaps gradually changed its own bed, while it has augmented the plain.

The arrangement of this portion of the coast, given by Strabo, is as follows:—After Neapolis, now Scala Nova, and Phygela, going northward, was port Panormus, which boasted the temple of the Ephesian Diana; then the city, which had arsenals and a port, beyond the mouth of the Cayster, was a lake, called Selenusia, made by water which the sea repelled; and, in the same direction, another communicating with it; then Mount Gallesus. Panormus, it is likely, was the general name of the whole haven, and comprised both *the Sacred Port*, or that by which the temple stood, and *the City Port*, now the morass. The former is perhaps quite filled up.

Pliny mentions, that, in consequence of the encroachments of the river on the sea, the island Syrie was then seen in the middle of a plain. That island was, I suspect, the rock of Aiasalick.

* Pliny.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the temple of Diana—The idol—Account of it—The priests, &c.—Self manifestations of the goddess—An Ephesian decree—Remarks.

WE would close our account of Ephesus with the preceding chapter, but the curious reader will ask, what is become of the renowned temple of Diana? Can a wonder of the world be vanished, like a phantom, without leaving a trace behind? We would gladly give a satisfactory answer to such queries; but, to our great regret, we searched for the site of this fabric to as little purpose as the travellers, who have preceded us.

The worship of the great goddess, Diana, had been established at Ephesus in a remote age. The Amazons, it is related, sacrificed to her there, on their way to Attica in the time of Theseus; and, some writers affirmed, the image was first set up by them under a tree. The vulgar afterwards believed it fell down from Jupiter. It was never changed, though the temple had been restored seven times.

This idol, than which none has been ever more splendidly enshrined, was of a middling size, and of very great antiquity, as was evident from the fashion; it having the feet closed. It was of wood, which some had pronounced cedar, and others ebony. Mutianus, a noble Roman, who was the third time consul in the year of our Lord seventy five, affirmed from his own observation, that it was vine, and had

many holes filled with nard to nourish and moisten it, and to preserve the cement.* It was gorgeously apparelled; the vest embroidered with emblems and symbolical devices; and, to prevent its tottering, a bar of metal, it is likely, of gold, was placed under each hand. A veil or curtain, which was drawn up from the floor to the ceiling, hid it from view, except while service was performing in the temple.

The priests of the goddess were eunuchs, and exceedingly respected by the people. The old institutions required, that virgins should assist them in their office, but, in process of time, these, as Strabo has remarked, were not all observed. The titles of some of the inferior ministers are perhaps recorded on the marble, which we found near the entrance of the valley; the sacred-herald, the incenser, the player on the flute at the libations, and the holy trumpeter.†

It may be imagined, that many stories of the power and interposition of the goddess were current and believed at Ephesus. The most striking evidence of the reality of her existence, and of her regard for her suppliants, was probably furnished by her supposed manifestations of herself in visions. In the history of Massilia,‡ now Marseilles, it is related, that she was seen by Aristarche, a lady of high rank, while sleeping, and that she commanded her to accompany the Greek adventurers, by whom that city was founded. Metagenes,|| one of the architects of her temple at Ephesus, had invented a method of raising the vast stones to the necessary height, but it did not succeed, so well as was expected, with a marble of prodigious size, designed to be placed over the door-way. He was excessively troubled,

* Pliny. † Inscript. Ant. p. 11. ‡ Strabo, p. 179. || Pliny.

and, weary of ruminating, fell asleep, when he beheld the goddess, who bade him be comforted, she had been his friend. The next day the stone was found to have settled, apparently from its own weight, as he wished.

Near the path, after passing the aqueduct at Aiasalück, in our way from Smyrna, we met with a curious memorial of the importance of the goddess, and of the respect paid to her.* It is a decree of the Ephesians, inscribed on a slab of white marble, and may be thus translated. "To the Ephesian Diana. Inasmuch as it is notorious, that not only among the Ephesians, but also every where among the Greek nations, temples are consecrated to her, and sacred portions; and that she is set up, and has an altar dedicated to her, on account of her plain manifestations of herself, and that besides, the greatest token of the veneration paid her, a month is called after her name; by us Artemision, by the Macedonians and other Greek nations, and in their cities, Artemision; in which, general assemblies and Hieromènia are celebrated, but not in the holy city, the nurse of its own, the Ephesian, goddess: The people of Ephesus deeming it proper, that the whole month called by her name be sacred, and set apart to the goddess, have determined by this decree, that the observance of it by them be altered. Therefore it is enacted, that in the whole month Artemision the days be holy, and that nothing be attended to on them, but the yearly feastings, and the Artemisiac Panegyris, and the Hieromènia; the entire month being sacred to the goddess; for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in its prosperity

* Inscript. Ant. p. 13.

for ever." The person who obtained this decree, appointed games for the month, augmented the prizes of the contenders, and erected statues of those who conquered. His name is not preserved; but he was probably a Roman, as his kinsman, who provided this record, was named Lucius Phænius Faustus. The feast of Diana was resorted to yearly by the Ionians, with their families.

A people convinced that the self-manifestations of the deity before-mentioned were real, could not be easily turned to a religion, which did not pretend to a similar or equal intercourse with its divinity. And this perhaps is the true reason, why, in the early ages of Christianity, besides the miraculous agency of the spirit in prophetic fits of extasy, a belief of supernatural interposition by the Panagia or *Virgin Mary*,* and by saints appearing in daily or nightly visions, was encouraged and inculcated. It helped by its currency to procure and confirm the credulous votary, to prevent or refute the cavil of the heathen, to exalt the new religion, and to deprive the established of its ideal superiority. The superstitions derived on the Greek church from this source, in a remote period, and still continuing to flourish in it, would principally impede the progress of any, who should endeavour to convert its members to the nakedness of reformed Christianity. *Great is the Panagia*, would be the general cry; and her self-manifestations, like those of Diana antiently, would even now be attested by many a reputable witness. By what arguments shall a people, filled with affectionate regard for her, and feeling complacency from their conviction of her attention to them, and of her power,

* See an instance, in the year 408. Sozomen, vii. 5.

be prevailed on to accept our rational Protestantism in exchange for their fancied, but satisfactory revelations †

CHAP. XXXIX.

The spot chosen for the temple of Diana—Skill of the architects—The new temple—Its magnificence—The asylum—The temple not in the city—Plundered—Its destruction unnoticed—The supposed site—A Sibyline prophecy.

THE reputation and the riches of their Diana had made the Ephesians desirous to provide for her a magnificent temple. The fortunate discovery of marble in Mount Prion gave them new vigour. The cities of Asia, so general was the esteem for the goddess, contributed largely; and Cræsus was at the expense of many of the columns. The spot chosen for the building was a marsh, as most likely to preserve the structure free from gaps, and uninjured by earthquakes. The foundation was made with charcoal rammed, and with fleeces. The souterrain consumed immense quantities of marble. The edifice was exalted on a basement, with ten steps. The architects, Ctesiphon of Crete, and Metagenes his son, were likewise authors of a treatise on the fabric. Demetrius a servant of Diana, and Peonius an Ephesian, were said to have completed this work, which was two hundred and twenty years about.

The distance between the site of the temple and the quarries, did not exceed eight thousand feet, and no rising intervened, but the whole space was level plain. Ctesiphon in-

vented a curious machine, of which a description is preserved,* for transporting the shafts of the columns; fearing, if a carriage were laden with a stone so ponderous, as each was, the wheels would sink deep into the soil. Metagenes adapted his contrivance to convey the architraves. These were so bulky, that the raising of any one of them to its place, appeared a miracle. It was done by forming a gentle ascent, higher than the columns, of baskets filled with sand; emptying those beneath, when the mass was arrived, and thus letting it gradually down upon the capitals. By this method, the prodigious stone, formerly mentioned, was inserted over the door-way.

This temple, which Xerxes spared, was set on fire by Herostatus; but the votaries of Diana proved so extravagant in their zeal, that she was a gainer by his exploit. A new and more glorious fabric was begun; and Alexander the Great, arriving at Ephesus, wished to inscribe it as the dedicatory; and was willing, for that gratification, to defray the whole expense; but the Ephesians declined accepting this magnificent offer. The architect, then employed, was the famous projector, who proposed the forming Mount Athos, when he had finished, into a statue of this king.

The temple now erected was reckoned the first in Ionia for magnitude and riches. It was four hundred and twenty feet long, and two hundred and twenty broad. Of the columns, which were sixty feet high, one hundred and twenty seven were donations from kings. Thirty-six were carved; and one of them, perhaps as a model, by Scopas. The order was

* Vitruvius, l. x. c. vi. where, for *millia passuum octo*, read *pedum*.—*Millia pedum quinque*. l. x. c. xiv. or *passus mille*.

Ionic, and it had eight columns in front. The folding-doors, or gates, had been continued four years in glue, and were made of cypress-wood, which had been treasured up for four generations, highly polished. These were found by Mucianus as fresh and as beautiful four hundred years after, as when new. The ceiling was of cedar ; and the steps for ascending the roof, of a single stem of a vine, which witnessed the durable nature of that wood. The whole altar was in a manner full of the works of Praxiteles. The offerings were inestimable, and among them was a picture by Apelles, representing Alexander armed with thunder, for which he was paid twenty talents of gold.* The structure was so wonderfully great in its composition, and so magnificently adorned, it appeared the work of beings more than human. The sun, it is affirmed, beheld in his course no object of superior excellence, or worthier of admiration.

The temple of Diana had the privilege of an asylum, or sanctuary, before the time of Alexander ; but he extended it to a stadium, or half a quarter of a mile. Afterwards Mithridates shot an arrow from the angle of the pediment, and his boundary exceeded the stadium, but not much. Mark Antony coming near him, enlarged it so as to comprehend a portion of the city ; but that concession proving inconvenient and dangerous, was annulled by Augustus Cæsar.

We have mentioned before, that the distance of the temple from the quarries did not exceed eight thousand feet, and that the whole way was entirely level. From the detail now given, it appears, that the temple was distinct from the present city, and the distance may be inferred ; for Mark An-

* Above £38,650 *English*.

tony allowing the sanctuary to reach somewhat more than a stadium from it, a part of the city was comprised within those limits. It was, moreover, *without* the Magnesian gate, which, I should suppose, was that next Aiasalúck; and, in the second century, was joined to the city by Damianus, a sophist, who continued the way down to it through the Magnesian gate, by erecting a stoa or portico, of marble, a stadium, or six hundred twenty five feet in length; which expensive work was inscribed with the name of his wife, and intended to prevent the absence of the ministers, when it rained. He likewise dedicated a banquetting-room in the temple, as remarkable for its dimensions as its beauty. It is adorned with Phrygian marble, such as had never been cut in quarries before.*

The extreme sanctity of the temple inspired universal awe and reverence. It was for many ages a repository of foreign and domestic treasures. There property, whether public or private, was secure, amid all revolutions. The civility of Xerxes was an example to subsequent conquerors, and the impiety of sacrilege was not extended to the Ephesian goddess. But Nero was less polite. He removed many costly offerings and images, and an immense quantity of silver and gold. It was again plundered by Goths from beyond the Danube, in the time of Gallienus;† a party under Raspa crossing the Hellespont, and ravaging the country, until compelled to retreat, when they carried off a prodigious booty.

The destruction of so illustrious an edifice deserved to have been carefully recorded by contemporary historians.

* Philostratus, p. 601. † In the year of Christ, 262.

We may conjecture it followed the triumph of Christianity. The Ephesian reformers, when authorized by the imperial edicts, rejoiced in the opportunity of insulting Diana; and deemed it piety to demolish the very ruin of her habitation. Hence, perhaps, while the columns of the Corinthian temple have owed their preservation to their bulk, those of this fabric, with the vast architraves, and all the massive materials, have perished and are consumed. Though its stones were far more ponderous, and the heap larger beyond comparison, the whole is vanished we know not how or whither. An ancient author has described it as standing at the head of the port, and shining as a meteor. We may add, that as such too it has since disappeared.

It has been supposed, that the souterrain by the morass or city-port, with two pieces of ancient wall, of square stone, by one of which is the entrance to it, are reliques of the temple; but that spot was nearly in the centre of the city of Lysimachus; and besides, the temple was raised on a lofty basement with steps. The edifice was deemed a wonder, not for its form, as at all uncommon; but for the grandeur of its proportions, the excellence of its workmanship, and the magnificence of its decorations. The vaulted substructions by the stadium might, it is believed, furnish an area corresponding better with this idea, and more suited to receive the mighty fabric; which, however, as has been shewn above, was in the plain, and distinct, though not remote, from the present city.

A writer,* who lived toward the end of the second century, has cited a Sibyl as foretelling, that, the earth opening and

* Clemens Alexandrinus, t. 1. p. 44. See the Sibylline Verses, l. 5. p. 607.

quaking, the temple of Diana would be swallowed, like a ship in a storm, into the abyss : and Ephesus lamenting and weeping by the river banks, would inquire for it, then inhabited no more. If the authenticity of the oracle were undisputed, and the Sibyl acknowledged a genuine prophetess, we might infer from the visible condition of the place, the full accomplishment of the whole prediction. We now seek in vain for the temple ; the city is prostrate ; and the goddess gone.

CHAP. XL.

We leave Aiasalück—Road to Scala Nova—Of Phygela—Of Ortygia—The lower way to Scala Nova—Changes—Of Scala Nova.

AFTER staying at Aiasalück four days, we set out at half past seven in the morning, with a guide on an ass, for Neapolis or Scala Nova, distant three hours. The plain was covered with mud and slime from the recent inundation. It produces corn, cotton, sesamus, and tobacco ; but in several places was swampy, and overgrown with rushes and reeds. Flocks, and herds, and camels were feeding on it. We had Ephesus, and the morass or port on our left hand, until we were opposite the square tower, which has been mentioned as standing on a precipice.

We came in an hour to the gap in Corissus, and left the plain behind ; our course winding south-westward, and the castle of Aiasalück bearing 10° north of east. We soon had the back of Corissus on our left hand, with the exterior front of

the city-wall, high in the air, on the ridge, which is steep and inaccessible. On the mountain, between the gap and the sea, are likewise traces of a wall. Before us was a pleasant valley, with a Turkish burying ground, and a village named Arvisia beyond a mean ruinous aqueduct, which the road approaches, and then becomes rough and rugged; leading over the rock, in view of the sea, of the mouth of the Cayster, and of the extremity of the plain of Ephesus; into which a track descends, crossing a piece of wet low ground at the end of the mountain. We met a peasant on an ass laden with grapes, and purchased some of admirable flavour.

Going on southward, we passed under a fragment of a wall, which appears, from the earthen pipes in it, to have conveyed water across the road from the mountain on our left, which had a channel still in use, running a considerable way along its side. Near this remnant, on our right, were vestiges of a small town, Pygela or Phygela, upon a hill. There was once a temple of Diana, founded, as they related, by Agamemnon. He was said to have touched at this place, in his voyage homeward, and to have left behind some of his men, who were disabled by rowing. The wine of Phygela is commended by Dioscorides; and its territory was now green with vines. We had remarked, that about Smyrna the leaves were decayed, or stripped by the camels and herds of goats, which are admitted to browse after the vintage. We came soon after in sight of the sea, and of Scala Nova.

In the Ephesian decree, inserted in a preceding chapter, the city is styled, *The Nurse of her own Goddess*. The local story was, that Latona had been delivered of her in Ortygia, a beautiful grove of trees of various kinds, chiefly cypresses, near Ephesus; on the coast, a little up from the

sea. This place was filled with shrines and images. A general assembly was held there yearly; and splendid entertainments were provided, and mystic sacrifices solemnized. The Cenchrius, probably a crooked river, ran through it; and above it was the mountain Solmissus, on which, it was fabled, the Curetes stood and rattled on their shields, to divert the attention of Juno.*

As the site of Ortygia is marked by a mountain and a river, we expected to discover it without much difficulty; and with that view preferred, in our second journey from Ephesus, the lower way to Scala Nova, going from the gymnasium, where we had pitched our tent, to the extremity of the plain, and then along by the sea. We came in sight of the town sooner than before, and turned into the road near Phygela, a little beyond the broken wall, without meeting with any thing remarkable.

The improved face of a country is perishible, like human beauty. Not only the birth-place of Diana and its sanctity are forgotten, but the grove and buildings, which adorned it, appear no more: and, perhaps, as I have since suspected, the land has encroached on the sea, and the valley, in which Arvisia is, was once Ortygia. The houses of Damianus, in the suburbs of the city, with the pleasant plantations on his estate, and the artificial islands and portlets, which he made by the sea side, are all now equally invisible.

Scala Nova, called by the Turks Koushadase, is situated in a bay, on the slope of a hill, the houses rising one above another, intermixed with minarets, and tall slender cypresses. A street, through which we rode, was hung with goat-skins

* Strabo, p. 639.

exposed to dry, dyed of a most lively red. At one of the fountains is an ancient coffin, used as a cistern. The port was filled with small craft. Before it is an old fortress on a rock or islet, frequented by gulls and sea-mews. By the water-side is a large and good khan, at which we passed a night on our return. This place once belonged to the Ephesians, who exchanged it with the Samians for a town in Caria.

We shall conduct the reader to the confines of Ionia with Caria, by the route we pursued in our first journey, and then return again to Scala Nova.

CHAP. XLI.

We continue our journey—Mount Mycale and Trogilium—At Suki—We pass Priene— Perplexed in the plain.

WE arrived at Scala Nova from Aiasalück at about eleven in the morning, and drank coffee, while our men procured provisions to carry with us. We mounted again at twenty minutes before twelve, and leaving an aqueduct, with a road leading toward the sea, on our right hand, passed over a broken causey to a village pleasantly situated on a hill covered with vines, called Cornea. We had frequent views of the coast, and of the adjacent islands. Twenty minutes after two we stopped at a fountain of excellent water, by which is a coffee-house, with a shady tree, where we dined.

We went on at half after three, and in ten minutes overlooked a beautiful cultivated plain, lying low beneath us, bounded by the sea and by Mycale, a mountain, now, as anciently, woody and abounding in wild beasts. The pro-

montory, once called Trogilium,* runs out toward the north end of Samos, which was in view, and meeting a promontory of the island, named Posidium, makes a strait only seven stadia, or near a mile wide. The city of Samos was toward the south, forty stadia or five miles from Trogilium. The passage from this cape to Sunium in Attica, was sixteen hundred stadia, or two hundred miles.†

We met several strings of slow, melancholy camels, and numerous flocks of goats. The hills were covered with a short verdure from the late rains. Before us were lofty mountains. Entering within the range, we had Mycale on our right hand, and on our left the termination of Mount Pactyas, and of Mount Messogis; the latter, which was once famous for wine, reaching hither from Celænæ in Phrygia, bounding the plain on the north side of the river Mæander. The road was broken and rough. As we advanced, the passage widened; and we had on our right a water-course. We discovered the dome and minaret of a mosque, with a cypress-tree or two before us; and ten minutes after five came to Suki, a Turkish village by a plain. We were lodged in a mean caravanserâ, with mud walls.

In the morning it lightened and rained; with awful thunder, at intervals, on the mountain-tops, which were enveloped in fleecy clouds. We left the village at seven, and travelled along by the foot of Mycale, on the edge of the plain, which is very extensive, and skirted round with mountains. My-

* Before Trogilium was an islet of the same name. Pliny reckons three, Trogilæ, Peison, the Naked; Argennon, the White; Sandalion, the Sandal. See a chart in Tournefort, v. 1.

† Strabo, p. 636

cale rose very high on our right hand, appearing as a single ridge, with many villages on its side. By the way were flowering shrubs, and we enjoyed the fragrance and dewy freshness of spring in autumn. We came in two hours near Kelibesh, where our guide was bemired. From this place we afterwards examined the ruins of Priene, which we now passed; and at a quarter before eleven turned to the left, slanting over the plain toward Palat or Miletus, which was in view. Behind us was a village named Aurtborgusi, bearing 15° east of north.

Our guide had mistaken his way, and led us on too far by the foot of Mycale. This occasioned us much perplexity in the plain, where in twenty-five minutes we came to the water-course, which winds before Priene. The bed was wide, almost dry, and the banks steep. After crossing again and again, it still continued to meet us, and to become more and more formidable, until we were quite at a loss how to proceed, when fortunately we espied some low scattered huts made of reeds, and procured a peasant to conduct us. He waded over, and informed us, this was called Cali-bech-osmoc, *The little River*. The water appeared stagnant. After passing it six times in an hour and twenty minutes, we left it on the right hand, and went on without farther obstacle across the plain, with the theatre of Miletus in view before us. At ten minutes after one we were ferried over the Mæander, now called Mendres, below it, in a triangular float, with a rope. The man was a black, and in his features strongly resembled a Satyr. The stream was smooth and placid, but muddy.

CHAP. XLII.

*The theatre at Miletus—Inscription on the wall—Other remains
—The mosque, &c.—Modern history of Miletus—Its ancient
greatness.*

MILETUS is a very mean place, but still called Palat or Palatia, *The Palaces*. The principal relic of its former magnificence is a ruined theatre, which is visible afar off, and was a most capacious edifice, measuring in front four hundred and fifty seven feet. The external face of this vast fabric is marble, and the stones have a projection near the upper edge, which, we surmised, might contribute to the raising them with facility. The seats ranged, as usual, on the slope of a hill, and a few of them remain. The vaults, which supported the extremities of the semi-circle, with the arches or avenues in the two wings, are constructed with such solidity, as not easily to be demolished. The entrance of the vault or substruction, on the left side, was filled up with soil; but we examined that next the river; one of our Armenians going before us with a candle in a long paper lantern. The moment we had crept in, innumerable large bats began flitting about us. The stench was hardly tolerable; and the commotion of the air, with the apprehensions of our attendant, threatened us with the loss of our light. After we had gone a considerable way in, we found the passage choked with dry filth, and returned.

On the side of the theatre next to the river is an inscrip-

tion* in mean characters rudely cut, in which "*the city Miletus*" is mentioned seven times. This is a monument of heretical Christianity. One Basilides, who lived in the second century, was the founder of an absurd sect called Basilidians and Gnostics, the original proprietors of the many gems, with strange devices and inscriptions, intended to be worn as amulets or charms, with which the cabinets of the curious now abound. One of their idle tenets was, that the appellative "*Jehovah*," possessed signal virtue and efficacy. They expressed it by the seven Greek vowels, which they transposed, into a variety of combinations. The superstition appears to have prevailed in no small degree at Miletus. In this remain the mysterious name is frequently repeated, and the deity six times invoked, "*Holy Jehovah, preserve the town of the Milesians, and all the inhabitants.*" The archangels also are summoned to be their guardians, and the whole city is made the author of these supplications; from which thus engraved, it expected, as may be presumed, to derive lasting prosperity, and a kind of talismanical protection.

The whole site of the town, to a great extent, is spread with rubbish, and over-run with thickets. The vestiges of the heathen city are pieces of wall, broken arches, and a few scattered pedestals, and inscriptions,† a square marble urn, and many wells. One of the pedestals has belonged to a statue of the emperor Hadrian, who was a friend to the Milesians, as appears from the titles of saviour and benefactor bestowed on him. Another has supported the emperor Severus, and has a long inscription, with this curious preamble, "The senate and people of the city of the Milesians, the first settled

* Inscript. Ant. p. 16, 17.

† Ibid.

in Ionia, and the mother of many and great cities both in Pontus and Egypt, and in various other parts of the world."—This lies among the bushes behind the theatre. Near the ferry is a large lion in a couchant posture, much injured ; and in a Turkish burying ground, another. These were placed on graves, or perhaps before a building for ornament. Some fragments of ordinary churches are interspersed among the ruins ; and traces remain of an old fortress erected upon the theatre, beneath which is a square inclosure designed, it seems, as a station for an armed party to dispute or defend the passage of the river. Several piers of a mean aqueduct are standing. The fountain named from Biblis, with the scene of the stories concerning her passion, was in the territory of Miletus. A marble quarry, if I mistake not, is discernible on the mountain, which bounds the plain on the left hand, at a distance toward the sea.

From the number of forsaken mosques, it is evident, that Mahometanism has flourished in its turn at Miletus. All these have been mean buildings and mere patch-work ; but one, a noble and beautiful structure of marble is in use, and the dome, with a tall palm-tree or two, towers amid the ruins, and some low flat-roofed cottages, inhabited by a very few Turkish families, the present citizens of Miletus.

The history of this place, after the declension of the Greek empire, is very imperfect. The whole region has undergone frequent ravages from the Turks, while possessed of the interior country, and intent on extending their conquests westward to the shore. One sultan in 1175 sent twenty thousand men, with orders to lay waste the Roman provinces, and bring him sea-water, sand, and an oar. All the cities on the Mæander, and on the coast, were then ruined. Miletus was

again destroyed toward the end of the thirteenth century by the conquering Othman.

Miletus was once exceedingly powerful and illustrious. Its early navigators extended its commerce to remote regions. The whole Euxine Sea, the Propontis, Ægypt, and other countries, were frequented by its ships, and settled by its colonies. It boasted a venerable band of memorable men, Hecataeus, an early historian; and Thales, the father of philosophy. It withstood Darius, and refused to admit Alexander. It has been styled the metropolis and head of Ionia; the bulwark of Asia; chief in war and peace; mighty by sea; the fertile mother, which had poured forth her children to every quarter, counting not fewer than seventy-five cities descended from her. It afterwards fell so low as to furnish a proverbial saying, "The Milesians were once great:" but if we compare its ancient glory, and its subsequent humiliation, with its present state, we may justly exclaim, Miletus, how much lower art thou now fallen!

CHAP. XLIII.

*The aga of Suki—To Ura—To Branchida—Port Panormus
—A water there—Ruin of the temple of Apollo Didymæus
—Other remains.*

WHILE we were employed on the theatre of Miletus, the aga of Suki, son-in-law by marriage to Elez-Oglue, crossed the plain towards us, attended by a considerable train of domestics and officers, their vests and turbans of various and

lively colours, mounted on long-tailed horses, with showy trappings, and glittering furniture. He returned after hawking to Miletus, and we went to visit him, with a present of coffee and sugar ; but were told that two favourite birds had flown away, and that he was vexed and tired. A couch was prepared for him beneath a shed made against a cottage, and covered with green boughs to keep off the sun. He entered, as we were standing by, and fell down on it to sleep, without taking any notice of us. We rambled over the ruins, until he awoke, when we were again admitted. He was sitting on a carpet, cross-legged, with a hooded falcon on his knee, and another, which he stroked often and caressed, before him on a stand. Round about him were dogs and horses. The Armenian, who interpreted for us, offered him our firman; but he said, it was sufficient that he knew our country, that the English and Turks were brethren. He examined our weapons with attention ; discoursed on them and our apparel, expressed regret, that he was unable to entertain us so well as he wished ; and promised us a letter of recommendation to the aga of Melasso. We were treated each with a pipe and dish of coffee ; after which, making our obeisance, we retired, well pleased with his manly politeness and civility. In the morning he sent the letter, and a little old man, a Turk, who had been a camel-leader, and was well acquainted with the roads, to be our guide.

We set out at twenty minutes before eight for Ura, or Urada, where we expected to find the ruins of Branchidæ, a place famous for a most magnificent temple dedicated to Apollo Didymæus. Near the city-gate, going thither, on the left hand of the road, was once the monument of Neleus, a leader of the Ionians, and founder of Miletus. This was pro-

bably a barrow. We saw no traces of the city-wall. In half an hour the plain ended, and we came to a range of hills, called anciently Mount Latmus; and soon after to a poor village of Greeks named Aucti, where we staid an hour to procure fowls, eggs, and other provisions, to be carried with us. At ten we had passed a heathy vale by the sea, and then crossing a high ridge, had in view some columns of the temple, which are yet standing. The road was over the mountain among low shrubs, chiefly the arbutus then laden with fruit, like strawberries, large and tempting; the colour a lively red, the taste luscious and woody.* Before us was a small inlet or gulf on the north-side of the promontory Posidium, on which the temple is situated. We came to the head of it, and turning up in a valley, arrived about twelve at Ura, where are a few stragglng huts.

A peasant of Ura undertook to conduct us to the ruins, which are half an hour distant. We proceeded without dismounting, and on a sudden, a wild bull, roaring, rushed out of a thicket, close by the road, and made furiously at our guide. The man, who was before us on foot, turning nimbly round some bushes eluded the attack. This terrible animal had for some time infested that district.

In descending from the mountain toward the gulf, I had remarked in the sea something white on the farther side; and going afterwards to examine it, found the remain of a circular pier belonging to the port, which was called Panormus. The stones, which are marble, and about six feet in diameter, extend from near the shore; where are traces of buildings, probably houses, over-run with thickets of myrtle, mastic,

* Pliny calls it "*pomum inhonorum*." Nat. Hist. xv. 24..

and ever-greens. Some water occurring fifteen minutes from Ura, and presently becoming more considerable, I traced it to the gulf, which it enters at the head, after a very short course, full and slow. This was anciently supposed to have its source on Mount Mycale, and to pass the sea in its way to Port Panormus, by which it emerged opposite to Branchidæ.

The temple of Apollo was eighteen or twenty stadia, or about two miles and a half from the shore; and one hundred and eighty stadia, or twenty two miles and a half from Miletus. It is approached by a gentle ascent, and seen afar off; the land toward the sea lying flat and level. The memory of the pleasure, which this spot afforded me, will not be soon or easily erased. The columns yet entire are so exquisitely fine, the marble mass so vast and noble, that it is impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin. At evening, a large flock of goats, returning to the fold, their bells tinkling, spread over the heap, climbing to browse on the shrubs and trees growing between the huge stones. The whole mass was illuminated by the declining sun with a variety of rich tints, and cast a very strong shade. The sea, at a distance, was smooth and shining, bordered by a mountainous coast, with rocky islands. The picture was as delightful as striking. A view of part of the heap, with plates of the architecture of this glorious edifice, has been engraved and published, with its history, at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*.

We found among the ruins, which are extensive, a plain stone cistern, covered, except an end, with soil; many marble coffins, unopened, or with the lids broken; and one, in which was a thigh bone; all sunk deep in earth: with five statues, near each other, in a row almost buried. In the stubble of

some Turkey wheat were a number of bee-hives, each a long hollow trunk of wood headed like a barrel, piled in a heap. An Armenian, who was with me, on our putting up a hare, to my surprise slunk away. This animal, as I was afterwards informed, is held in abomination by that people, and the seeing it accounted an ill omen.

CHAP. XLIV.

At the temple—At Ura—Ignorance of the Turks—Their huts—We continue our journey—The confines of Ionia with Caria.

THE temple of Apollo Didyméus seeming likely to detain us some time, we regretted the entire solitude of the spot, which obliged us to fix our quarters at Ura. Our Armenian cook, who tarried there with our baggage, sent us provisions ready dressed, and we dined under a shady tree by the ruins. Our horses were tied and feeding by us. Our camel-leader testified his benevolence and regard, by frequent tenders of his short pipe, and of coffee, which he made unceasingly, sitting cross-legged by a small fire. The crows settled in large companies round about, and the partridge called in the stubble.

At our return in the evening to Ura, we found two fires, with our kettles boiling, in the open air, amid the huts and thickets. A mat was spread for us on the ground by one of them. The Turks of Ura, about fourteen in number, some with long beards, sitting cross-legged, helped to complete the grotesque circle. We were lighted by the moon, then full, and shining in a blue cloudless sky. The Turks smoked,

talked, and drank coffee with great gravity, composure, and deliberation. One entertained us with playing on the Turkish guitar, and with uncouth singing. The thin-voiced women, curious to see us, glided as ghosts across the glades, in white, with their faces muffled. The assemblage and the scene was uncommonly wild, and as solemn as savage.

The attention and knowledge of our guests was wholly confined to agriculture, their flocks and herds. They called the ruin of the temple an old castle, and we inferred from their answers to our inquiries about it, that the magnificence of the building had never excited in them one reflection, or indeed attracted their observation, even for a moment. Our discourse, which was carried on by interpreters, not very expert in the Italian language, soon became languid and tiresome; and the fatigues of the day contributed to render repose and silence desirable.

We retired, after supper, to one of the huts, which was near the fire, and, like the rest, resembled a soldier's tent; being made with poles inclining, as the two sides of a triangle, and thatched with straw. It was barely a covering for three persons lying on the ground. The furniture was a jar of salted olives, at the farther end. Our men slept round the fire, and watched some hours for an opportunity to shoot the bull, which twice came near the huts, allured by the cattle. He then changed his haunt, removing to a thicket at a distance, where we frequently saw him, or heard him roar. The weather as yet was clear and pleasant, and the sun powerful. We drooped with heat at noon, but at night experienced cold, and in the morning our thatch was dripping with wet.

The disorders, which began to prevail among us, required a speedy exchange of the thickets for some lodging less damp

and chilly. We renewed our journey, after two entire days, with satisfaction ; leaving the temple at eleven, on a Friday, and travelling nearly south-eastward over low stony land covered with tufts or bushes. Before us was the mountain, anciently called Grius, a high craggy range, parallel to Mount Latmus ; then stretching from the Milesian territory eastward through Caria as far as Euromus, which was on the sea-coast, and once a place of some consequence.

We came in two hours and a half to a deep bay, formerly called *Sinis Basilicus*, on the south side of Posidium. The road for twenty minutes was on the beach. We tarried under a tree near a small peninsula, on which was a hut or two, while our Turks performed the devotions customary on their sabbath. We then entered between the mountains, the boundary now, as we were told, of the jurisdiction of Elez-Oglu, and anciently of Ionia.

We now return to Scala Nova, or Neapolis.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Ionians—Their general assembly—Panionium—Story of the city Helice.

ON the arrival of the Ionian adventurers from the European continent, the people, who before possessed the country, retired, or were expelled. The Carians had settled about Miletus, Mycale, and Ephesus ; and the Leleges on the side toward Phocæa. Their sepulchres and castles, with vestiges of their towns, remained for many ages, and some are perhaps even now extant.

The Ionian cities on the continent were, as has been mentioned, ten in number, not reckoning Smyrna. These, with Chios and Samos, gloried in their name; and to preserve the memory of their common origin, to promote amity and concord, and to facilitate their union for mutual defence, when occasion should require, instituted a general assembly, in which their deputies or representatives had power to propose and enact decrees, to debate and to determine on the interests of the community.

The place, where this famous council, called the Panionian, met, was on the coast named Troglia, three stadia, or a quarter of a mile and a half from the shore. It was a portion of Mount Mycale named Panionium, fronting the north, in the territory of Priene, selected by the Ionic body, and consecrated to Neptune Heliconius. The cities jointly sacrificed to that deity at the season of the congress. The ceremony is represented on the reverse of a medalion of the emperor Gallus, struck by the Colophonians. The thirteen deputies are there seen, each with his right hand uplifted, or in the act of supplication, standing round an altar, with fire, and a bull before the image and temple.* If the victim lowed while dragging to the altar, it was deemed a good omen.

The Prieneans were descended from the Ionians of Helice in Achaia, and introduced the worship of this god. They had petitioned their mother-city to transmit to them an image of him, and a plan of his temple, intending to erect one on the same model, but were refused. They then obtained from the Achæan community, a decree in their favour; and,

* See Museum C. Albani, v. 2. pl. 80. and p. 42. The deity is there supposed to be Apollo Clarius.

Helice not complying with it; Neptune, it is related, grew angry, and in the following winter, that city was swallowed up by an inundation of the sea and an earthquake. This event happened in the night, two years before the battle of Leuctra. The Achæans then delivered to the Ionians the plan they had requested. A young man was appointed by the Prienæans to preside at the rites, as *sacrificing king*, during the festival.

CHAP. XLVI.

We set out from Scala Nova—Separate and lose our way—Benighted on Mount Mycale—Goat-herds—To Changlee—To Panionium—To Kelibesh.

IN going from Scala Nova toward Miletus, as related in a preceding chapter, we had in view on the right hand the coast called Trogilia, and the promontory. We then passed Priene, that journey having for its principal object the temple of Apollo Didymæus. On our second arrival at Scala Nova from Ephesus, we resolved to proceed to Priene by Changlee, or, as was supposed, Panionium. That village is distant about three hours from Scala Nova. We stopped at the khan, while our men purchased provisions; and set forward, at four in the afternoon, with a guide from the town, who put us into the road, which we have mentioned as leading toward the sea, and then returned.

We passed, after descending to the water-side, along the edge of the bay, and near a ruined castle on a hill in the plain. Our janizary was mounted on a free horse, and we, to keep

pace with him, separated from our servants, who followed with our baggage behind. It was dusk, and Changlee lying up from the sea, escaped our observation. We expected to arrive there every minute, and rode on, until we came to the foot of Mount Mycale, and the beach was at an end. There, unfortunately, we discovered a tract with a gate before it, and went on, not doubting but the village was near. Steep succeeded steep; the way slippery, uneven, often winding about vast chasms, or close by the brink of tremendous precipices, with the sea rolling beneath.

We were benighted and perplexed, the tract not being distinguishable, though the moon began to shine. We dismounted to lead our horses, when the janizary, who was a fat bulky man, and distressed by the bushes, which entangled in his long garments, bemoaned his situation, in broken Italian, with the most plaintive accents. We still persevered, suffering now from thirst even more than from fatigue, and at length heard the sound of water in a nook below us, when the moments seemed hours as we descended to it. After this refreshment we pushed on as well as we could, expecting to meet soon with some house or village, and commiserating our men and horses embroiled, as we conceived, with our baggage on the mountain behind us.

About two in the morning our whole attention was fixed by the barking of dogs, which, as we advanced, became exceedingly furious. Deceived by the light of the moon, we now fancied we could see a village, and were much mortified to find only a station of poor goat-herds, without even a shed, and nothing for our horses to eat. They were lying, wrapped in their thick capots or loose coats, by some glimmering embers, among the bushes in a dale, under a spreading tree by

the fold. They received us hospitably, heaping on fresh fuel, and producing caimac, or sour curds, and coarse bread, which they toasted for us on the coals. We made a scanty meal sitting on the ground, lighted by the fire and by the moon ; after which, sleep suddenly overpowered me. On waking I found my two companions by my side, sharing in the comfortable cover of the janizary's cloke, which he had carefully spread over us. I was now much struck with the wild appearance of the spot. The tree was hung with rustic utensils ; the she-goats in a pen, sneezed, and bleated, and rustled to and fro ; the shrubs, by which our horses stood, were leafless, and the earth bare ; a black cauldron with milk was simmering over the fire ; and a figure more than gaunt or savage, close by us, was struggling on the ground with a kid, whose ears he had slit, and was endeavouring to cauterize with a piece of red hot iron.

We had now the mortification to hear, that our labour was fruitless, and that we must return the way we came, both we and our horses fasting. We left the goat-herds, and found the tract, which we had passed in the dark, full of danger even by day. We consumed near four hours on the mountain in going back. Descending from it to the beach we espied one of our Armenians, who was seeking us with a guide. They conducted us to Giaur-Changlee, a small Greek village near a shallow stream. By the way was a mean church, with a ruined inscription in the portico. We were welcomed by our men, who were waiting, in great perplexity and anxiety, at the house of the papas or priest. They had been out the whole night in quest of us, discharging their guns and pistols, hoping the report would reach us ; but in vain. We rested at Changlee the remainder of the day.

The next morning, April the 9th, it rained ; but about ten we mounted, and leaving the bay on our left hand, proceeded with a guide toward Mycale. We soon came to Turkish Changlee, which is seated higher up by a stream, then rapid and turbid. I saw by the mosque an inscription, which I wished to copy, but was accidentally the last of our caravan ; and after our late adventure was cautious of separating from the rest. There, it is likely, was the site of Panionium, and of the temple of Neptune. The river was named the Gæsus or Gessus, and entered the sea on the coast called Trogilia. Two days before, the stream was inconsiderable, the mouth not wide, and crossed by a bar of sand.

The sacred region Panionia ending, as we supposed, a broken pavement carried us over some roots of Mycale to a pleasant valley, in which a water-course commences. Several copious rills descended from the sides of the mountain, on which was an over-shot mill or two. The torrent farther on had torn down the banks, which were steep, with corn standing thick on the very brink. At a fountain by the way is an ancient coffin with an inscription in Greek. I could read only a couple of the lines. About two we came in sight of Suki, and went on, without stopping, to Giaur-Kelibesh, where we arrived, April the 9th, at five in the evening.

CHAP. XLVII.

*At Kelibesh—Zingari or gypsies—Women lamenting—
Easter—A phenomenon—Remark.*

GIAUR-KELIBESH is a small village, inhabited, as the name imports, by Christians or Greeks. It is situated on the east-side of Mount Mycale, the houses rising on a slope, and enjoying a fine view over the plain. The church is mean, and was encompassed with graves. It appeared as a place recently settled. We were here not far from the ruins of Priene, on which we employed some days, returning before sunset to Kelibesh.

During our stay at the village, some of the vagrant people, called Atzincari or Zingari, the gypsies of the east, came thither with a couple of large apes, which, their masters singing to them, performed a great variety of feats with extraordinary alertness, and a dexterity not to be imagined, such as raised highly our opinion of the docility and capacity of that sagacious animal.

One evening, coming from the ruins, we found an old woman sitting by the church on the grave of her daughter, who had been buried about two years. She wore a black veil, and pulling the ends alternately, bowed her head down to her bosom; and at the same time lamented aloud, singing in an uniform disinal cadence, with very few pauses. She continued thus above an hour, when it grew dark; fulfilling a measure of tributary sorrow, which the Greeks superstitiously.

believe to be acceptable, and beneficial, to the souls of the deceased. The next morning a man was interred, the wife following the body; tearing her long dishevelled tresses in agony; calling him her life, her love; demanding the reason of his leaving her; and expostulating with him on his dying, in terms the most expressive of conjugal endearments and affection.

The Greeks now celebrated Easter. A small bier, prettily decked with orange and citron buds, jasmine, flowers, and boughs, was placed in the church, with a Christ crucified rudely painted on board, for the body. We saw it in the evening; and before day-break were suddenly awakened by the blaze and crackling of a large bonfire, with singing and shouting in honour of the resurrection. They made us presents of coloured eggs, and cakes of Easter-bread.

The weather had been unsettled. The sky was blue, and the sun shone, but a wet, wintry north-wind swept the clouds along the top of the range of Mycale. We were sitting on the floor early one morning at breakfast, with the door, which was toward the mountain, open; when we discovered a small rainbow just above the brow. The sun was then peeping only over the opposite mountain, and, as it got higher, the arch widened and descended toward us; the cattle, feeding on the slope, being seen through it, tinged with its various colours as it passed down, and seeming in the bow. This phenomenon is probably not uncommon in the mountainous region of Ionia and Greece.

Let us suppose a devout heathen one of our company, when this happened. On perceiving the bow descend, he would have fancied Iris was coming, with a message to the earth, from Jupiter Pluvius; and if he had beheld the bow

ascend in like manner, which at some seasons, and in certain situations he might do, he would have confidently pronounced that the goddess had performed her errand, and was going back to heaven.

CHAP. XLVIII.

*The citadel of Priene—Descent from it—Remains of the city—
The wall and gate-ways—Taken by Bajazet.*

THE morning after we arrived at Kelibesh, we set out to survey the ruins of Priene, with the Greek, at whose house we lodged, for our guide. He led us first through the village up to the acropolis or citadel; the ascent lasting an hour, the track bad, by breaks in the mountain, and small cascades. We then arrived on a summit of Mycale, large, distinct, and rough, with stunted trees and deserted cottages, encircled, except toward the plain, by an ancient wall of the masonry called *Pseudisodomum*. This has been repaired, and made tenable in a later age by additional out-works. A steep, high, naked rock rises behind; and the area terminates before in a most abrupt and formidable precipice, from which we looked down with wonder on the diminutive objects beneath us. The massive heap, of a temple below appeared, to the naked eye, but as chippings of marble.*

A winding track leads down the precipice to the city. The way was familiar to our guide, and a lad, his son, who was with us. We listened to their assurances, and enticed by a

* See a view in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

fair setting out, followed them; but it soon became difficult and dangerous. The steps cut in the rock were narrow, the path frequently not wider than the body, and so steep as scarcely to allow footing. The sun shone full upon us, and was reverberated by the rugged side of the mountain, to which we leaned, avoiding as much as possible the frightful view of the abyss beneath us, and shrinking from the brink. The long-continued descent made the whole frame quiver; and, looking up from the bottom, we were astonished at what we had done. We could discern no track, but the rock appeared quite perpendicular; and a soaring eagle was below the top of the precipice. At the temple we were joined by our servants, who led our horses down on the side opposite to that which we ascended; and with them came the fat janizary, who had very wisely sneaked off on perceiving our intention.

The temple of Minerva Polias, though prostrate, was a remain of Ionian elegance and grandeur too curious to be hastily or slightly examined. An account of it, with a view and plates of the architecture, has been published at the expense of the society of *Dilettanti*. Several inscribed marbles remain in the heap.* When entire, it overlooked the city, which was seated on the side of the mountain, flat beneath flat, in gradation, to the edge of the plain. The areas are levelled, and the communication is preserved by steps cut in the slopes. Below the temple are broken columns, and pieces of marble, the remnants of edifices of the Ionic and Doric orders. Farther down is the ground plat of the stadium, by the city-wall. The area was narrow, and the seats ranged only on the side

* Inscript. Ant. p. 14, 15, 16.

facing the plain. In the mountain, on the left hand, going from the temple, is the recess, with some vestiges of the theatre. Among the rubbish and scattered marbles is an inscription,* with a fragment or two, and ruins of churches, but no wells or mosques, as at Miletus. The whole circuit of the wall of the city is standing, besides several portions within it, worthy of admiration for their solidity and beauty. It descends on each side of the precipice, and is the boundary next the plain.

Priene, not including the citadel, had three gate-ways. One is toward Kelibesh, and has without it vaults of sepulchres. The entrance was not wide. A part of the arch, consisting of a single row of massive stones, still remains; but those on which it rests are so corroded by age, broken, or distorted, as to seem every moment ready to yield, and let down their load. A rugged way leads to a second opening in the wall opposite to this, and as we guessed, about a mile from it; beyond which are likewise vaults of sepulchres. Between these was a gate facing the plain; and on the left hand going out of it is a hole, resembling the mouth of an oven, in the side of a square tower; and over it an inscription in small characters, exceedingly difficult to be read.† It signifies, that a certain Cyprian, in his sleep, had beheld Ceres and Proserpine, arrayed in white; and that, in three visions, they had enjoined the worship of a hero, the guardian of the city, and pointed out the place, where, in obedience to them, he had erected the god. This was probably some local hero, whose little image was set in the wall, and whose name and memory have perished.

The modern history of Priene, as well as of Miletus, is very

* Inscript. Ant. p. 14, 15, 16.

† Inscript. Ant. p. 13.

imperfect. It is now called Samsun and Samsun-kalesi, which names seem not very recent. Samsun is among the places taken in 1391 by Bajazet, who subdued Ionia.

CHAP. XLIX.

Mount Titanus—Rocks in the plain—The Mæander—We are entangled on the mountain—Benighted—Arrive at Myûs.

WE have mentioned in a preceding chapter, that on Gallesus we saw a summit remarkably craggy. The clouds rest on its tops, which, being weather-worn, are of a whitish shining aspect. These continued long visible in various parts of the country, and sometimes far remote. The ancient name of the mountain was Titanus, taken from their colour as resembling chalk.* Beneath the ridge on the south-side, by a lake, is Bafî or Capoumoulû, six hours, as we were told, from Kelibesh. The Greek our host undertook to conduct us thither.

We left the village, on the 15th of April, at seven in the morning. We found the torrent-bed, which occasioned our perplexity in going to Miletus, less formidable here, crossing it by a wooden bridge made for foot passengers. It had received some water from the late rains, which had also flooded the plain at the foot of the mountain. The air was sharp; and snow, recently fallen, glistened on the northern summits. About nine we came to three distinct, bare rocks, resembling islets of the Ægæan sea, but surrounded with land instead

* Q. Smyrneus à 280. Strabo, p. 439.

of water. On one is a village named Osebashá, and on the side next Priene is a very wide torrent-bed.

We went on, and after half an hour were stopped by the Mæander. Here we were ferried over in a triangular float, with a rope, in two minutes and a half. The stream was broad, rapid, and muddy, but low within the banks, which were indented by the gradual sinking of its surface. We ascended the mountain, and enjoyed a delightful view of the river, crossing with mazy windings from the foot of Mount Mesogis, the northern boundary of the plain.

We were informed at the ferry, that the road to Baff, distant four hours from thence, was bad. We met on it a few camels, which carry their burthens high on their backs, or I should have described it as not absolutely impassable. It lies over a branch of Titanus, which mountain is uncommonly rough and horrid, consisting of huge, single, irregular, and naked rocks piled together : poised, as it were, on a point ; or hanging dreadfully over the track ; and interspersed with low shrubs and stunted oaks. Our horses suffered exceedingly, sliding down, or jammed with their burthens, or violently forced from the road, and rolling over the steeps ; and our men were much jaded with loading and unloading them, and bruised by transporting our baggage on their shoulders at the narrow passes.

We were benighted in this wild mountain, when we came to a strait, where the difficulty seemed insurmountable. Three or four of us at length pushed through ; and, leading our horses into a vale beneath, committed them to the care of the janizary. We then joined our companions in distress, who were perplexed above ; and, lighting candles, began, all hands, to carry down our baggage piece-meal. The Greek:

atoned in some measure for bringing us this way by his laborious activity, in which he was equalled by our Swiss ; but the Armenians are a dull and heavy race. We pitched our tent near a tree, not far from a rill, on a green spot surrounded with brown, naked rocks.

Our toil was renewed in the morning, but about noon we got clear from the mountain. When near Bafi, we entered a small plain half-encircled with a bare ridge. This avenue had been barricadoed. We pitched our tent soon after upon a pleasant green area within the city-walls of Myûs.

CHAP. L:

Of Myûs—The site and remains—Graves, &c.—An oratory—Another—Ruined churches and monasteries—Of Tymbria—Gnats and flies.

THE story of Myûs is remarkable, but not singular. A town by Pergamun, named Atarneus, had suffered in the same manner. Myûs was originally seated on a bay of the sea, not large, but abounding in fish. Hence, this city was given to Themistocles to furnish that article for his table. The bay changed into a lake, and became fresh. Myriads of gnats swarmed on it, and the town was devoured, as it were, from the water. The Myusians retired from this enemy to Miletus, carrying away all their moveables, and the statues of their gods. They were incorporated with the Milesians, and sacrificed, and gave their suffrage with them at the Panionian congress. Pausanius relates, that nothing remained at Myûs in his time, but a temple of Bacchus of white stone.*

* P 207. Vitruvius, l. 4. c. 1. Strabo, p. 636. Diodorus, sic. l. 11. c. 37.

The site of Myŷs is as romantic as its fortune was extraordinary. The wall encloses a jumble of naked rocks rudely piled, of a dark dismal hue, with precipices and vast hollows, from which perhaps stone has been cut. A few huts, inhabited by Turkish families, are of the same colour, and scarcely distinguishable. Beyond these, fronting the lake, you find on the left hand a theatre hewn in the mountain, with some mossy remnants of the wall of the proscenium or front; but the marble seats are removed. Between the huts and the lake are several terraces with steps cut as at Priene. One, by which our tent stood, was a quadrangular area edged with marble fragments; and we conjectured, it had been the market place. By another were stones ornamented with shields of a circular form. But the most conspicuous ruin is the small temple of Bacchus, which is seated on an abrupt rock, with the front only, which is toward the east accessible. The roof is destroyed. The cell is well-built, of smooth stone with a brown crust on it. The portico was *in Antis*. We measured some marble fragments belonging to it, and regretted that any of the members were missing. This edifice has been used as a church, and the entrance walled up with patch-work. The marbles, which lie scattered about, the broken columns, and mutilated statues, all witness a remote antiquity. We met with some inscriptions, but not legible. The city-wall was constructed, like that at Ephesus, with square towers, and is still standing, except toward the water. It runs up the mountain-slope so far as to be in some places hardly discernible.

Without the city are the cemeteries of its early inhabitants; graves cut in the rock, of all sizes, suited to the human stature at different ages; with innumerable flat stones, which

served as lids. Some are yet covered, and many open, and by the lake filled with water. The lids are overgrown, with a short, dry, brown moss, their very aspect evincing old age. We were shewn one inscription,* close by a small hut in a narrow pass of the mountain westward, on marble, in large characters. It records a son of Seleucus, who died young, and the affliction of his parents; concluding with a tender expostulation with them on the inefficacy, and impropriety of their immoderate sorrow. Nearer the city, among some trees, is a well with the base of a column perforated on the mouth.

A couple of Myusians, who undertook to shew something extraordinary, conducted me, with one of my companions, up into the mountain on the east side of the city; on which are many traces of ancient walls and towers. We climbed several rocks in the way; our guides with bare feet, carrying in their hands their papouches or slippers, which were of red leather; a colour not allowed to be worn, except by Turks. We came in about an hour to a large rock, which was scooped out, and had the inside painted with the history of Christ in compartments, and with heads of bishops and saints. It is in one of the most wild and retired recesses imaginable. Before the picture of the crucifixion was a heap of stones piled as an altar, and scraps of charcoal, which had been used in burning incense; with writing on the wall.

Going back, I tarried with one of the Turks, while a shower fell, in a single rock, hollowed out; with the door-way above the level of the ground. It stands distinct and tall. On the dome within, Christ was portrayed, and on the round beneath, the Panagia, or Virgin, with saints. The figures are large and

* Inscript. Ant. p. 48

at full length; the design and colouring such as may be viewed with pleasure. On the plaster are inscriptions painted, and faint from age. One, which I carefully copied,* informs us, the oratory had been beautified, for the sake of the pray-ers, and salvation of a certain sub-deacon and his parents. Here seemed to have been a quarry. The brown rocks had graves on their tops, and the soft fresh turf between them was enamelled with flowers.

It may be inferred from the remnants of the monasteries and churches, which are numerous, that Myús was re-peopled, when monkery, spreading from Egypt, toward the end of the fourth century, over-ran the Greek and Latin empires. The lake, abounding in large and fine fish, afforded an article of diet, not unimportant under a ritual, which enjoined frequent abstinence from flesh. It probably contributed to render this place, what it appears to have been, a grand resort of fanciful devotees and secluded hermits, a nursery of saints, another Athos, or holy mountain.

We were supplied with corn for our horses, and with provisions from a village by the head of the lake; where are vestiges of ancient building. There probably was Thymbria,† a village in Caria, within four stadia, or half a mile of Myús; by which was a Charonium or sacred cave; one of those which the ancients supposed to communicate with the infernal regions, and to be filled with the deadly vapours of lake Aver-nus. We purchased bad water from the huts in Myús at a dear rate; and fish taken in the lake with a small trident. The carp here, and by the Mæander, were extremely fine.

The old nuisance of Myús, gnats, swarmed already in the

* Inscript. Ant. p. 18.

† Strabo, p. 579. 636.

air, teasing us exceedingly; and, toward the evening, the inside of our tent was blackened with flies, clustering round about the poles. One of our men, thinking to expel and destroy them by a sudden explosion of gunpowder, procured a momentary riddance, and set fire to the canvas in three or four places.

CHAP. LI.

The lake of Myús—An islet—A rock in the lake—Another islet—Another—Junction of the lake with the Mæander—Altars and niches.

THE lake of Myús is visible both from Priene and Miletus, and is called by the neighbouring Greeks (θαλάσσα) *The Sea*. The water is not drinkable. We observed the inbat here as at Smyrna; a breeze lightly skimming along the smooth surface, then springing gently up, and increasing with the day; the waves agitated, and moving in regular progression toward the shore. On the edges and round about it are square towers and ruinous castles, besides one at Myús, erected in times of war or rapine, to secure and command the passes.

The lake, which is much longer than broad, has in it several rocky islets. One, near Myús, is surrounded with an ordinary wall inclosing the ruin of a church. The water is so shallow that we once waded across. It was chosen as the best point of view for a drawing of the city and mountain. Our servant found there the nest of some water-fowl in a hole of

the wall, filled with large eggs, speckled with red. Among the rubbish was a pillar, on which a cross is carved, and a marble with a sepulchral inscription,* "Heraclides, son of Sotades, (*Νεωκοπος*) *Temple-sweeper* to Hecate." This goddess, perhaps, was worshipped by the Charonium near Thymbria. The persons, who enjoyed that title, had the general care of the temples, to which they belonged. The office was accounted very honourable. It was sometimes conferred on cities, and is found upon record on their medals, and other remaining monuments.

Lower down the lake is a rock, which I visited in a boat, or rather a few boards badly fastened together. I had with me the Swiss and one of the natives. It is joined to the continent by a low sand-bank, and has a wall of despicable patch-work round it. Mount Titanus is the margin of the lake on that side. Our return to Myûs was attended with some risk. It was evening, our float slight, the gale strong, and the sea rough.

I was desirous to go down the lake to its mouth, as we supposed, eight or ten miles distant. The inbat seemed regular, and it was expected would waft us pleasantly back. We embarked in the morning in a larger boat, but could procure no sail. We rode to a picturesque islet, beyond the rock, covered with ruins of a monastery, and found an inscription in Greek over the door-way of the church, but the letters so disguised by ligatures exceedingly complicated, that I could neither copy nor decipher it. On a couple of marbles* in the wall is carved a double hatchet, and under it the name of the proprietor, "Jupiter of Labranda." This deity was

* Inscript. Ant. p. 18.

much worshipped in Caria, to which province Myûs once belonged. We shall have occasion, when we arrive at Mylasa, to treat of him, and shall then explain his symbol, which occurs, not seldom, to the antiquary, and especially the medalist.

Our boat moved very heavily, but we tugged on from this islet to one in a line with it, and on the north side of the lake, overspread likewise with rubbish. On the shore we found young tortoises, lively ; but so small, that we supposed they were just hatched from the eggs. The fish rose all around us, and the tops of the rocks, above the surface of the water, were covered with birds. We were amused with vast flights of fowl, some of a species unknown to us.

The Greek emperor Manuel lay near this lake with his army about the middle of the twelfth century. " His camp," says the historian,† " was situated toward the mouths of the Mæander. There an immense quantity of water issues forth at the feet of the mountains, as it were the produce of a thousand springs ; and spreading a deluge over the adjacent country, at first composes a lake, and then going on cuts a deep bed, and forms a river." We were now told that its junction with the Mæander is by a channel about half a mile long. The city of Myûs had anciently an intercourse by water with Miletus, and a communication with the sea, from which a boat might still pass up to it.

We had observed at Myûs many small square niches cut ; and rocks, with steps to ascend up to the top. These places, it may be conjectured, were designed for the worship of the watery divinities ; to receive propitiatory offerings or votive

† Cinnamus, p. 66.

tablets; the memorials of real or imaginary perils and escapes; the tribute of their suppliants distressed and relieved in their occupation, or voyages on the lake.

CHAP. LII.

*First discovery of Myûs—To Mersenet—To Miletus—To Oran-
duick—The night—To Suki and Smyrna—Remark on the
water-course in the plain—Account of a journey in 1673—
Remarks on it.*

WE were led unexpectedly to the discovery of Myûs in our first journey, on the way to Miletus from Mylasa in Caria. We had crossed the mountain, and our guide, at the head of the lake, leaving the road to Miletus, which is on the opposite side, conducted us to Myûs. We dismounted at the castle, and took a cursory survey of the ruins. It was evening before we had finished, and too late to attempt reaching Miletus.

We had consumed our whole store of provisions, which consisted of a few hard eggs, some grapes and bread, on our arrival here. We now found we could procure neither corn for our horses, nor any kind of food to allay our own hunger, which began to be importunate. We mounted, and went in quest of a lodging, passing from village to village, and inquiring, in vain, for corn. At length we were benighted among the hills on the south side of the lake, with jackalls howling round us. After some time we stopped at Mersenet, a village upon Mount Latmus, which afforded us a dish of boiled wheat, and some must of wine, with honey; but the quantity so small, it rather pacified the present cravings of

appetite, than satisfied the stomach. Nothing remained for the morning, and both we and our horses set out fasting.

The way to Miletus, after descending the mountain, was by the lake to the plain. We had then the Mæander winding on our right, and Mount Latmus bordering the level green on our left, both at a distance. Our course was 20° north of west, and in five hours we arrived the second time at Miletus.

Our lodging at this place before had been a smith's shop, in which we lay very roughly, straitened for room, and pestered exceedingly with gnats and other insects. We had now no inclination to resume it; but resolved, after resting awhile, to go on to a village bearing north-east from Miletus, distant three hours, called Oranduick. We ferried over the Mæander in the evening, and crossing the plain, were surrounded on the way by vast packs of jackalls, hunting in full cry. It was dark when we arrived, and were admitted into a small mud-built hut, in which were seven or eight Turks.

Before we had been long at this place, we would gladly have exchanged for the shop at Miletus, with all its inconveniences. The conversation, which passed among the Turks, gave room to apprehend bad purposes, and our men in general were very uneasy. It thundered and lightened exceedingly at a distance; but, sleeping in the air by a fire, about which some of them were sitting, seemed to me preferable to heat and suspected company within the hut. In a short time, after a dead silence, the village-dogs began on a sudden to bark, the cattle to low as if in distress, and the jackalls to howl; a violent rush of wind had scattered away the embers of the fire, with my bed-cloths, and rain was falling heavily in large drops. A flash of blue lightning directed me to

the hut, which in an instant was crowded with our men and baggage, and almost as soon let in the wet on us. This storm, however, had its use, as by assembling us, it frustrated any evil intentions of the Turks.

After a most uncomfortable night, we mounted, at seven in the morning, for Suki. Our course was nearly north by west, across the middle of the plain. We left the rocks or knolls, which we observed in our way from Priene to the ferry, with Osebashá, upon the right hand, and passed a wide water-course twice. The soil was slimy and slippery, and our guide, who was on a grey horse, like his rider, stricken in years, had a fall, but was not hurt. We arrived at Suki after ten, somewhat indisposed from our late sufferings, and the janizary complaining of an old rupture. We left the khan in the afternoon; our little Turk, whom we had paid and dismissed, standing in the road, and following us with good wishes, the effusions of his gratitude and regard. We lay at Scala Nova, and the next night at Osebanar, beyond Aiasalúck. We were on horseback again before day-break, and reached Smyrna in the evening.

In traversing the plain back to Suki, as above related, the water-course, which embarrassed us so much in going to Miletus, did not occur. The conclusion was obvious, that it had been worn by torrents from Mount Mycale. In this opinion I was afterwards confirmed by a view of it from the precipice of Priene. It is continued from the valley, where coming from Changlee, we observed the banks steep and torn with corn standing on the brink. The bed approaching Suki is wide and shallow, the ground being hard. It then cuts the plain with many windings, its direction most straight before Priene; and, farther on, crosses from near Mycale, 20th west



of south, its mazes very intricate; and unites with the Mæander below Miletus, deepening as it advances, and swelled after heavy rains with rills from the sides of the mountain.

Wheler† and Spon are indebted for the account, which they have published of this region, to a journey begun in June, 1673, by Dr. Pickering and some merchants of Smyrna. These travellers, quitting Changlee, about four in the morning, gained the top of Mycale, on which they had an extensive view, and one of them designed the mazes of the Mæander. They descended by a difficult and narrow track, and in two hours came into the plain, having left behind the remains of a castle eastward. From Samsun or Priene, then a village at the foot of Mycale, they passed through a large plain to the Mæander, called by the Turks Boiuc-Minder, or the *Great Mæander*, which they crossed at a ferry, where it was about sixteen fathom broad, and as many deep in the middle, as the man informed them, with the current very swift. About two hours after this, they arrived at Palatsha, where they pitched their tents on the banks of a large river, which, running through a great lake, falls into the Mæander.

The reader will observe, that these travellers cross the river but once between Sansum and Palatsha. The ferry therefore was below the junction of the two beds. There the stream was called *The Great Mæander*, probably to distinguish it, not, as has been supposed, from the Cayster, which is remote, but from the other, or *Little River*, which it receives. This they mistook for the principal stream, being ignorant of the true Mæander, with which the lake of Myās communicates, and which runs by Palatsha. This also lay beneath

† P. 267.

them, when on Mount Mycale, and was seen distinctly, as in a chart. Their draughtsman delineated its turnings and windings for those of the old and famous river; and its mazes, which helped to impose on them, prevented even the suspicion of an error.

CHAP. LIII.

The Mæander muddy—The bed—Its course to the lake—To the sea—Change in the face of the region—Its ancient geography—The islands before Miletus—The rocks of Osebashâ—Increase of land—Its progress unnoticed—Future encroachments.

WE have already mentioned the Mæander among the rivers of Asia Minor, anciently noted for the production of new land. The stream, it was remarked, in passing through the ploughed grounds of Phrygia and Caria, collected much slime, and bringing it down continually, added to the coast at its mouth.

The Mæander was indictable for removing the soil, when its margin tumbled in; and the person, who recovered damages, was paid from the income of the ferries.* The downfalls were very frequent, and are supposed, with probability, to be the cause of the curvity of the bed; the earth carried away from one part lodging in another, and replacing the loss sustained on one side, by adding to the opposite bank.

We have described the stream as crossing from near Mount Messogis to the foot of Titanas opposite to Priene; and on

* Strabo, p. 580.

that side it continues, running toward the mouth of the lake of Myôs. Probably the level of the intermediate plain determined it in that course ; the soil washed from Mycale, or supplied by the torrent, raising the surface there, and forbidding its approach. The current repelled by the rocks of Osebashá, and contracted about the ferry, wore its present channel, while the mud was soft and yielding ; and the bed, which we passed near them, was created from the same obstruction, the water after floods running off there more forcibly, as meeting with more resistance.

The river turns from the mouth of the lake, with many windings, through groves of tamarisk, toward Miletus ; proceeding by the right wing of the theatre in mazes to the sea, which is in view, and distant, as we computed, about eight miles ; the plain smooth and level as a bowling green, except certain knolls extant in it, near mid-way, before Miletus.* One of these, the northernmost, is seen distinct, as a hillock ; and on a bigger ranging with it is a village named Bautenau. In that part is the union of the water-course of Priene with the river, which winds to the south of the hillocks, and has on its margin, two or more miles beyond, a small fortress. The extremity of the plain by the shore appeared, from the precipice of Priene, marshy, or bare, and as mud. Such was the face of this region, when we saw it. How different from its aspect, when the mountains were boundaries of a gulf, and Miletus, Myus, and Priene, maritime cities.†

Strabo, a geographer, as exact as comprehensive, whose volume is indeed an inestimable treasure, will furnish us, as it were, with a chart, enabling us to contemplate this coast,

* Strabo, p. 580.

† See a view in the *Ionian Antiquities*.

as it existed toward the commencement of the Christian era ; before a famous sophist* affirmed of it, that the river had taken the sea from the navigator, and given it to the husbandman to be divided into fields ; that furrows were seen in the place of waves, and kids sporting in the room of dolphins ; and that instead of hearing the hoarse mariner, you were delighted with the sweet echo of the pastoral pipe.

Miletus had then four ports, one of them very capacious ; and before it was a cluster of small islands. Beyond Miletus, the coast winding, was a bay called the Latmian, from Latmus, the adjacent mountain. In this bay was "Heraclea under Latmus," a small town, once called Latmos, with a road for vessels ; and near that place, after crossing a rivulet, you was shewn a cave, with the sepulchre of Endymion. On this mountain, it was fabled, Luna cast that hero and hunter into a profound sleep, to have the pleasure of saluting him. After Heraclea was Pyrrha, an inconsiderable town, the distance between them by sea about one hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half. From Miletus to Heraclea was a little more, coasting the bay ; but from Miletus to Pyrrha,† in a straight course, was only thirty stadia, or

* Himerius. Photius, p. 1135.

† The Latin interpreter of Strabo has omitted the words *From Miletus to Pyrrha*. See also Cellarius, p. 52.

The geographer, after mentioning slightly Pyrrha and Heraclea as inconsiderable towns, advertises his reader, that the compass of his work requires him not to dwell but on places of note. This passage is grossly mistranslated. The interpreter will frequently mislead those, who attend not to the original ; and is, in this instance, the sole cause why Wheler, finding himself puzzled, suspects Strabo to be less accurate in this portion of his work than *he pretends to be*.

The river running by the theatre of Miletus perplexed Wheler exceedingly. He supposes Miletus to have been Pyrrha, and Branchidae to be Heraclea. Spon, with

three miles and three quarters, so much longer was the voyage by the shore. From Pyrrha to the mouth of the Meander, were fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter, the ground slimy and marshy. From thence you sailed up to Myûs,* thirty stadia, in skiffs which plyed. After the mouth of the Meander was the coast against Priene. The sea had once washed the wall of this city, and it had two ports, one of which shut up; but then it was seen within land, forty stadia, or five miles above the shore.

The principal island in the cluster before Miletus was Lade. There, when invaded by Darius, the Ionians assembled three

the same materials, suppresses the mention of any difficulty; and, on the authority of the inscription on the theatre, boldly calls the place Miletus. Cellarius prefers the opinion of Wheeler. He cites Strabo to prove, the distance between Miletus and the mouth of the river was cx stadia; and observing it only x in Pliny, supposes the numeral c omitted. But the calculation from Strabo is imperfect and erroneous, the emendation of Pliny neither well founded nor necessary; and it happens, that Spon is superficially right, while Cellarius with Wheeler is learnedly mistaken. D'Anville has likewise followed Wheeler. See *Analyse de la Carte intitulée Les Côtes de la Grèce*, &c. p. 48.

It were easy to enlarge on the errors of Cellarius in this part of his work, and to reflect back the unmerited censures, which he bestows on the ancient writers, who have treated on the places. See pages 51, 52, 53, 54.

We may with reason wonder, that so obvious a clue to these intricacies and seeming contradictions, as that we have given, has hitherto escaped the modern travellers, geographers, and annotators, in general; especially as each class professes to take Strabo for their surest guide or principal counsel.

* The distance between Miletus and Myûs, by water, seems to have been one hundred and ten stadia, or thirteen miles and three quarters.

	Stadia.
From Miletus to Pyrrha - - - - -	30
From Pyrrha to the mouth of the Meander - - - - -	50
From thence to Myûs - - - - -	30

hundred and sixty triremes, and engaged his fleet of six hundred. The Milesians had eighty ships, and formed the wing toward the east. Next to them were the Prienæans with twelve, and Myusians with three. The island was afterwards seized by Alexander; and, while he besieged Miletus, was the station of the Greek admiral, who blocked up the port. The Milesians, when he was about to storm the city, tried to escape, some in skiffs, some swimming on their bucklers, but were intercepted; only three hundred getting to a steep islet, which they resolved to defend. This probably was one by Lade. Two, near Miletus, called Camelidæ, *The Camels*, were among the less considerable. A single one, it is likely the northernmost hillock, was called Asteria from Asterius, whose skeleton, remarkable for its size, was shewn there. He reigned, it is related, before the Ionic migration. By the Tragiæ, probably mud banks and shoals formed by the river, were other islets, the stations of robbers.

"Nature," says Pliny, "has taken islands from the sea, and joined them to the continent; from Miletus Dromiscos, and Perne; and Hybanda, once an island of Ionia, is now two hundred stadia, twenty-five miles, from the coast." Nature in this district was the Mæander, and the islands here specified are perhaps the rocks of Osebashá. The river has been, as it were, the parent of its own bed.

The bay, on which Myûs was once seated, changed into a lake, when the Mæander, by lodging slime at the mouth, had cut off the ingress of the salt water. The mountains were an obstacle, or the whole recess would have been filled and converted into a plain. Their rills also supplied the fresh water, which generated the gnats. The land grew, as it

were, daily, and was continually removing the sea farther from the lake. The mouth of the Mæander was then seen between Miletus and Priene; and this city had a wide plain before it. Afterwards it approached within ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter of Miletus; and the bays above that city were rendered firm ground. The traveller, who shall ride along the foot of Mount Latmus, eastward from Miletus, will, I doubt not, discover the site of Heraclea; and the rivulet may direct him even now to the cave of Endymion. Pyrrha has been mentioned as within land. The space between Priene and Miletus was added, in no long time, to the continent. The ports of this city ceased to be navigable; and, by degrees, Lade and Astera, and the islets near them, were encircled with soil. Before this happened, the water-course of Priene entered the sea, separate from the Mæander.

Miletus, deprived by the Mæander of the principal advantages of its situation, experienced, with the cities its neighbours, a gradual decay, which will end in total extinction, as it were, by a natural death, after a lingering illness. The progress of the changes, as might be expected, were unattended to in the barbarous ages, as not sudden; or unnoticed, as not important. But we are informed, that a place by the shore, where the river entered the sea in the year 866, was called *The Gardens*;† and, that the Greek emperor, Manuel, about the middle of the twelfth century, finding that region well watered and beautiful to the eye, resolved to refresh his army there, and to forget the toils of war in the pleasures of the chace.‡

From the alterations already effected, we may infer that

† Cedrenus, p. 566. Hist. Byzant. t. 8.

‡ Cinnamus, p. 82.

the Mæander will still continue to incroach; that the recent earth, now soft, will harden, and the present marshes be dry. The shore will in time protrude so far, that the promontories, which now shelter it, will be seen inland. It will unite with Samos, and in a series of years extend to remoter islands, if the soil, while fresh and yielding, be not carried away by some current setting without the mountains. If this happen, it will be distributed along the coast, or wafted elsewhere in the tide, and form new plains. Some barren rock of the adjacent deep may be enriched with a fertile domain, and other cities rise and flourish from the bounty of the Mæander.

CHAP. LIV.

*We enter Caria—At Ghauzocleu—Booths of the Turcomans—
Iasus—Remains of the city—The sepulchres—Inscriptions—
Iasian marbles at Scio—Journey continued.*

IN a preceding chapter we conducted the reader from the promontory Posidium, and the temple of Apollo Didymæus, to the confines of Ionia and Caria. We shall now pursue our journey over the Carian mountains.

We ascended the lofty mountain Grius, and descended by a difficult winding track. About five in the evening we arrived at Ghauzocleu, a village fronting a pleasant bay, which is land-locked. The situation is romantic, amid naked rocks, pine and olive-trees, the latter then laden with black fruit. Under the trees were several wells, and women passing to and fro with their faces muffled. Some children, who

were gathered about a fire, on seeing us, ran away. The aga entertained us very hospitably. We sat on a carpet after the Turkish fashion cross-legged, the table a large salver, on which the dishes were placed one at a time, and removed in quick succession. We had been exposed this day, without any shelter, to the sun. An accidental fire had scorched the bushes by the way, and destroyed their leaves, and the ground was bare and parched.

We were on horseback again at seven in the morning, and after a few minutes in a beautiful plain covered with vines. Some houses were dispersed in it. We then passed over huge mountains, branches of Grius, clothed with pines; and by immense precipices. The fire had laid waste large tracts. At ten minutes past ten we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by the doors, under sheds resembling porticoes; or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats. We turned to the right, and riding by a well in the plain, and then along the shore, arrived at Iasus, now called Assyn-kalesi.

The Iasians were a colony of Argives, and afterwards of Milesians. Their city covered a rocky islet lying near the continent, to which it is now united by a small isthmus, and was only ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter in circumference. It had a port, and was maintained by the sea, which abounded in fish; its territory being rough and barren. Several stories were current, of their eagerness to purchase that article, and one is recorded. A citharist or harper was displaying his skill, and the Iasians were very attentive, until a sale of fish was announced by the sound of a bell. Immediately they all hurried away, except one person, who was hard of hearing. "Sir," says the artist to him, "I am indeed in-

finitely obliged to you for the honour you do me, and for your love of harmony. Every body besides left me on the ringing of the bell."—"How!" he replied, "has the bell rung? then, sir, your servant."*

The north side of the rock of Iasus is abrupt and inaccessible. The summit is occupied by a mean but extensive fortress. At the foot is a small portion of flat ground. On that and on the acclivities, the houses once stood, within a narrow compass, bounded to the sea by the city-wall, which was regular, solid, and handsome, like that of Ephesus. This, which has been repaired in many places, now incloses rubbish, with remnants of ordinary buildings, and a few pieces of marble. Single pinks, with jonquils, grew among the thickets of mastic; and we sprung some large covies of partridges, which feed on the berries. In the side of the rock is the theatre, fronting 60° east of north, with many rows of seats remaining, but covered with soil or enveloped in bushes. On the left wing is an inscription in very large, and well-formed characters, ranging in a long line, and recording certain donations to Bacchus and the people.† Beneath, near the bottom, are several stones inscribed, but not legible. By the isthmus is the vaulted substruction of a considerable edifice; and on a jamb of the door-way are decrees engraved in a fair character, but damaged, and black with smoke; the entrance, which is lessened by a pile of stones, serving as a chimney to a few Greeks, who inhabit the ruin. Opposite to the isthmus is a flat point running out into the sea, with a small square fort at the extremity.

The sepulchres of the Iasians on the continent are very

* Strabo, p. 658.

† Inscrip. Ant. p. 17.

numerous, ranging along above a mile on the slope of the mountain. They are built with a slaty stone, and perhaps were white-washed, as their aspect is now mean. They consist mostly of a single camera or vault; but one has a wall before it, and three chambers, which have been painted. Many of them have a small square stone over the entrance, inscribed, but no longer legible. In examining these, I found half of an inscription,* which was copied in 1673, and has been published incorrectly. This remnant was in a fair character, on a marble lying on a rock. Below the sepulchres are broken arches, and pieces of wall, among which is a massive coffin or two of marble standing on their basements.

A marble by the isthmus records an Iasian, who was victorious at Olympia, and the first conqueror in the Capitoline games at Rome.† We found there likewise a piece of inscribed architrave, on which, when more entire, a stoa or portico, and Diana Civica, or the tutelary goddess of the city, were mentioned.‡ By a wall, which seemed the remnant of a sepulchre, is a long inscription closely, but handsomely engraved on a slab of white marble, in which the theatre is mentioned, with the Prytanéum or town-hall, and the temples of Jupiter and Diana. While I was copying it, a Greek priest came, and displaced me somewhat roughly. I was then informed that was a church; and the stone *the holy table*. I had given offence by sitting on it. The priest was wretchedly ignorant, and among his other absurdities, told me they had a tradition, that at the last day St. Paul will rise there, shewing the place with his foot.

A vessel from the island of Stanshio was at anchor in the

* Inscript. Ant. p. 26.

† Ibid, p. 19.

‡ Ibid, p. 20.

bay, with some small craft, with fish or laden with tobacco, figs, and cotton, the produce of the country. These often carry stones away for ballast. We had paid a piaster at Scio for leave to transcribe three marbles, which lay on the shore, and were transported from this place. They contained honorary decrees made by the Iasians.* One is of the age of Alexander the Great, and remarkable for the extreme beauty of the characters, which were as finely designed and cut as any I ever saw. These stones were part of a square pilaster before the senate-house.

On our first arrival here, a Greek, who lived in the ruin of a large sepulchre by the isthmus, declared he was commanded to suffer nobody to enter Assyn-kalesi without a written order from the aga of Melasso, to whose district the castle belonged. We offered to purchase his permission, but in vain. He knew we were going to that city, and was afraid to accept a bribe. After a short stay, finding him inflexible, we continued our journey, intending to return in a few days, as we did, with authority. This sepulchre was then our abode, and we lay in it, covering, with the Greek family, the whole floor. We were guarded by two large and fierce dogs, which were continually in motion round about, barking furiously at the jackalls, and then looking in upon us, with an attention as remarkable, as friendly and agreeable.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 19.

CHAP. LV.

*Increase of land—Hillock in a plain—Booths of the Turcomans
—Site of Bargylia—Of Kindye—Of Caryanda—We arrive at
Mylasa—The Turkish play of the Jarrit—Our visit to the aga.*

THE frequent accessions of new land along the coast of Asia Minor will often perplex the classical traveller, especially if not aware of the alteration; and will render him suspicious of the ancient geographers, whom he consults, as of false guides, on whom he cannot depend. The cities Iasus and Bargylia were situated in the recess of the same bay, which was called the Iasian, or, more commonly, the Bargyhetic; yet I inquired for the latter, as a place on the coast, without obtaining any information.

We set out from Iasus at half an hour after one; and, crossing the plain, ascended a very high mountain. At a quarter before three we had in view, beneath us, an extensive plain, in which was a Turkish village; and at the mountain-foot, a lake, which communicated by small meandering channels with one opposite, and that with the bay of Iasus. Within was a hillock, resembling one of the rocks by Osebashá, with ruins on it.

We led our horses down the mountain by a steep track, on the left hand, into a field, in which the tall stalks of Turkey wheat were standing; and, leaving behind us the distant summits of Mount Titanus, came at twenty minutes after three to a level green, occupied by Turcomans. Their

flocks and cattle were feeding round the scattered booths ; and cotton, recently gathered from the pods, was exposed on the ground to dry, or on the tops of the sheds, which are flat and covered with boughs. Beyond these we passed a wide water-course ; and had the hillock again in view, through an opening on the right hand.

I wish to have my omissions supplied, as well as my errors corrected, and therefore recommend this hillock to the notice of future travellers into these countries. I have no doubt, but there was the site of Bargylia, and there a recess of the bay, since converted into a plain, which is almost inclosed with mountains.

The Iasians had a famous statue of Vesta, which, it was the general belief, neither rain nor hail would touch, though standing in the open air. A temple of Diana near Bargylia was supposed to be distinguished, and treated with like reverence by falling snow and showers. It was at a place named Kindye.*

After Bargylia on the coast were Myndus and Halicarnassus, colonies from Troezen ; and between Bargylia and Myndus was the lake Caryanda, with an island in it and a town, the birth-place of Scylax, a very ancient geographer. The traveller, who shall examine the coast of Caria, will discover Caryanda, it is believed, encompassed in like manner with Bargylia, and in a plain.

Three inland cities of Caria are recorded as worthy notice, Mylasa, Stratonicea, and Alabanda. Our road to the former place lay between the mountains, branches of Grius ; and by pleasant cultivated vales. The sun had set when we

* Strabo, p. 658. Polybius, p. 1108.

arrived, and the khan was shut. A Swiss, who has been mentioned more than once, happened to be there, and looking out at a window, saw our hats; and some Greek or Armenian merchants of Smyrna, whom he informed that we were Franks, prevailed on the keeper to open the gate, though the khan was full. The Swiss had been in London, and had served in an English privateer in the war with France. He was now, after many adventures with an Hungarian, an itinerant quack-doctor. The bazar, or market, was closed, and we were distressed for food. He presently killed and dressed for us a couple of fowls, and the merchants permitted us to partake of their apartment, in which we all slept on the floor, as many as it could contain.

The merchants had free access to the aga as traders, and the Hungarian, as his physician. We delivered to them the letter from the aga of Suki, to be presented to him, and in the morning went to pay our visit. He was fond of the national and warlike diversion called *the Jarrit*, and we found him, though in a bad state of health, engaged in this violent exercise, with several Turks of distinction, in a large area, or court, before his house. The beauty and tractability of the horses, which had very rich trappings, was as surprising as the agility and address of the riders. They were galloping from all sides at once, with a confused regularity; throwing at each other the jarrit, or *blunted dart*; and recovering it from the ground, at full speed, with amazing dexterity. The music sounded, and acclamations, when any one excelled, filled the air.

We waited in the gallery with the Hungarian, and other spectators, until the game ended. We were then introduced into a spacious apartment, with a sofa, on which the aga was

sitting, cross-legged, the mufti and a Turk or two on his right hand, his officers and attendants standing in a row, silent and respectful. He was a comely person, with a black beard. We made our obeisance, as usual, putting the right hand to the left breast, and inclining the head; and, taking our places on the sofa, produced our *firhman*. The aga, on receiving it, kissed and laid it to his forehead, and then gave it to be read. We were entertained, each with a pipe ready lighted, a spoonful of sweetmeat put into our mouths, and a cup of coffee; after which we retired, with full permission to employ our time at Mylasa as we pleased.

CHAP. LVI.

Of Mylasa—The temple of Augustus—A column—Of Euthydemus—An arch, or gateway—Other remains—A sepulchre—One cut in the rock—Temples of Jupiter—Of the double-hatchet.

MYLASA, or Mylassa, was the capital of Hecatomnus, king of Caria, and father of Mausolus. It has been described as situated by a very fertile plain, with a mountain rising above it, in which was a quarry of very fine white marble. This being near, was exceedingly convenient in building, and had contributed greatly to the beauty of the city, which, it is said, if any, was handsomely adorned with public edifices, porticoes, and temples. The latter were so numerous, that a certain musician entering the market-place, as if to make proclamation, began, instead of (Ακουετι Δαοι) *Hear ye People*, with (Ακουετι Ναοι) *Hear ye Temples*. The

founders of the city were censured as inconsiderate in placing it beneath a steep precipice, by which it was commanded. Under the Romans it was a free city. Its distance from the sea, where nearest, or from Physcus, opposite the island of Rhodes, was eighty stadia, or ten miles. It is still a large place, commonly called Melasso. The houses are numerous, but chiefly of plaster, and mean, with trees interspersed. The air is accounted bad; and scorpions abound as anciently; entering often at the doors and windows, and lurking in the rooms. The plain is surrounded by lofty mountains, and cultivated; but was now parched and bare, except some spots green with the tobacco plant, which was in flower, and pleasing to the eye.

Our first inquiry was for the temple, erected, about twelve years before the Christian era, by the people of Mylasa to Augustus Cæsar, and the goddess Rome; which was standing not many years ago. We were shewn the basement, which remains, and were informed, the ruin had been demolished, and a new mosque, which we saw on the mountain-side, above the town, raised with the marble. The house of a Turk occupying the site, we employed the Hungarian to treat with him for admission; but he affirmed we could see nothing; and added, that there was his harám, or the apartment of his women, which was an obstacle not to be surmounted. It had six columns in front, and the whole number had been twenty-two.

On the hill, and not far from the basement of the temple, is a column, of the Corinthian order, standing, with a flat-roofed cottage, upon a piece of solid wall. It has supported a statue, and on the shaft is an inscription.* “The people

* Inscript. Ant. p. 27.

have erected Menander, son of Ouliades, son of Euthydemus, a benefactor to his country, and descended from benefactors." The Turk, who lived in the cottage, readily permitted a ladder to be placed on the terrace for measuring the capital, which was done as expeditiously as possible, but not before we were informed, that several of the inhabitants murmured, because their houses were overlooked. Besides this, two fluted columns, of the Ionic order, remained not many years since.

Euthydemus, the ancestor of Menander, was contemporary with Augustus Cæsar. He was of an illustrious family, and possessed an ample patrimony. He was eloquent, and not only great in his own country, but respected as the first person of Asia Minor. His power was so advantageous to the city, that, if it savoured of tyranny, the odium was overcome by its utility. Hybreas concluded an oration, with telling him he was a necessary evil. This demagogue, who succeeded Euthydemus, had inherited only a mule and its driver, employed then, as many now are, in bringing wood from the mountains for sale!*

Beneath the hill, on the east side of the town, is an arch, or gate-way, of marble, of the Corinthian order. On the key-stone of the exterior front, which is eastward, we observed a double hatchet, as on the two marbles near Myús. It was with difficulty we procured ladders to reach the top; and some were broken, before we could find three sufficiently long and strong for our purpose. The going up, when these were united, was not without danger. The aga had expressed some wonder at our employment, as described to

* Strabo, p. 659.

him; and seeing one of my companions on the arch, from a window of his house, which was opposite, pronounced him, as we were told, a brave fellow, but without brains. We desired him to accept our umbrella, on his sending to purchase it for a present to a lady of his harâm, who was going into the country. By the arch was a fountain, to which women came with earthen pitchers for water, and with their faces muffled.

We saw a broad marble pavement, with vestiges of a theatre, near the Corinthian column. Toward the centre of the town, we observed a small pool of water, and by it the massive arches of some public edifice. In the court of the aga's house was an altar much ornamented. We found an altar likewise in the streets, and a pedestal or two half buried, with pieces of ancient wall. Round the town are ranges of broken columns, the remnants of porticoes, now, with rubbish, bounding the vineyards. A large portion of the plain is covered with scattered fragments, and with piers of ordinary aqueducts; besides inscriptions, mostly ruined and illegible. Some altars, dedicated to Hecatomnus, have been discovered.

About a quarter of a mile from the town is a sepulchre,* of the species called by the ancients, *Distega* or *Double-roofed*. It consisted of two square rooms. In the lower, which has a door-way, were deposited the urns with the ashes of the deceased. In the upper the relations and friends solemnized the anniversary of the funeral, and performed stated rites. A hole made through the floor was designed for pouring libations of honey, milk, or wine, with which it was usual to gratify the manes or spirits. The roof is remarkable for its

* See a similar edifice in Mountfaucou, t. 5. Tab. 27.

construction, but two stones are wanting, and some distorted. It is supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, fluted, some of which have suffered from violence, being hewn near the bases, with a view to destroy the fabric for the iron and materials. The shafts are not circular, but elliptical;† and in the angular columns square. The reason is, the sides, which are now open, were closed with marble pannels; and that form was necessary to give them a due projection. The inside has been painted blue. This structure is the first object, as you approach from Iasus, and stands by the road. The entrance was on the farther side, the ascent to it probably by a pair of steps, occasionally applied and removed.

Going down from this building, and turning from Mylasa, westward, you have the mountain on the right hand; and come, in about an hour, to another sepulchre. This is cut in the rock, high up in the side, near the top, and very difficult of access. Within the door-way on each side is a seat or bench; on which, it is likely, the urns were placed; and beyond is a smaller camera, or arched room. Over the entrance, without, is carved in basso relievo a facade; two Tuscan pillars between two pilasters, with an entablature and pediment, and a door. The slope of the mountain has been covered with innumerable sepulchres. In this, the Swiss, as he told us, had persevered, digging for three nights, hoping to find some hidden treasure.

Jupiter, called by a local name Hosogo or Hogoas, had in the city a temple, in which was a well of sea-water. Jupiter, styled *Carius*, had also a temple, which was common to the Carians, and Lydians, and Mysians, as the same people.

† See a column described as singular by Tournefort, p. 339. See Pococke, p. 56.

This was not in the town, but had once a village near it. On a steep abrupt rock, in sight from Mylasa, to the south, and distant an hour and three quarters, crossing the plain, is a ruined town called Paitshin, and a castle, which was repaired, as a strong hold against Soley Bey. Part of the wall of this fortress, in which were a few cannon, stands on a flight of marble steps, probably belonging once to the latter temple. Near it are many deserted mosques and buildings, and a ruined church still used by the Greeks. The site of the former temple might perhaps be discovered, if diligent inquiry were made in the town for its well.

The Mylasians were the proprietors of the famous Jupiter of Labranda. The gate-way, on which his symbol, a double-hatchet, is carved, was probably that leading to his temple, which was at a distance from the city. The god often occurs on medals, holding the hatchet. Hercules, it is related, killed the Amazon Hippolyte, and gave this, her weapon, to Omphale, queen of Lydia. From her it descended to the kings her successors, and was used as an ensign of royalty. Candaulus delivered it, to be carried by one of his officers. Arselis, with auxiliaries from Mylasa, joining Gyges, when he revolted, slew Candaulus and the hatchet-bearer, and returned into Caria laden with spoils. He made a statue of Jupiter, and placed the hatchet in his hand.*

* Plutarch.

CHAP. LVII.

To Eski-hissar—Remains of Stratonicea—Its history—Mount Taurus—Temples of Hecate and Jupiter—Inscriptions—Introduction of tobacco and coffee into Turkey—Answer to a query.

THE merchants preparing to leave Mylasa, and telling us, we should find ruins at Eski-hissar, where they should stop next, we agreed to accompany them to that place, distant six hours eastward. We crossed the plain, with a long train of mules carrying their goods and servants, and ascended a mountain of veined marble, when the track became very steep and rough, winding by vast precipices. The slopes were covered with large firs and pines, many scorched or fallen, and some then on fire; spreading a strong smell of turpentine. The conflagration, we have before mentioned, had extended far into the country, as driven on and directed by the wind. About mid-day we alighted to refresh, near a clear murmuring brook, shaded by pines and plane-trees. In the vales farther on were stalks of Turkey wheat, with camels feeding; and booths of the Turcomans. A shepherd, whom we met in a narrow pass, was armed and followed by two dogs, and these by his flock. We saw some of the Turcomans, the women with boots on, and one carrying a gun; and their children leading camels. After travelling an hour and a half, Mylasa bore north west; and, on our return, we had the plain in view in about four hours.

Eski-hissar, once Stratonicea, is a small village; the houses scattered among woody hills, environed by huge mountains; one of which, toward the south-west, has its summit as white as chalk. It is watered by a limpid and lively rill, with cascades. The site is strewn with marble fragments. Some shafts of columns are standing, single; and one with the capital on it. By a cottage we found two, with a pilaster, supporting an entablature, but enveloped in thick vines and trees. In the side of a hill is a theatre, with the seats remaining, and ruins of the proscenium or front, among which are pedestals of statues; one inscribed, and recording a citizen of great merit and magnificence.* Above it is a marble heap. The whole building is overgrown with moss, bushes, and trees. Without the village, on the opposite side, are broken arches, with pieces of massive wall, and marble coffins. One of these is very large, and double, or intended for two bodies. Several altars with inscriptions lie about,† once placed in the sepulchres. The inhabitants were very civil to us; and the Greeks, some of whom accompanied us, as inquisitive as ignorant.

Stratonicea was a colony of Macedonians, and named from Stratonice, the wife of Antiochus Soter. The Selucidæ or kings had adorned it with sumptuous structures; and it was a free city under the Romans. Hadrian is said to have re-edified and named it Hadrianopolis; and the remnants of architecture in general savoured of this emperor and of Antoninus, whose name occurred on a piece of architrave, much more than of the purer era of the Selucidæ.

The mountains round about Stratonicea are branches of

* Inscript. Ant. p. 29.

† Ibid, p. 28, 29, 30.

Taurus, which, beginning in Caria and Lycia, and becoming exceedingly wide and lofty, extends eastward from the coast opposite Rhodes, to the extremities of India and Scythia, dividing the continent of Asia into two parts. The same mountain spreads in Caria to the river Mæander. Besides the city above mentioned a small town is on record, called *Stratonicea by Taurus*.

The Stratoniceans had two temples in their territory; one of Hecate, at Lagina, in the way to Ephesus from Physcus, very famous, and visited by multitudes of people at the yearly congresses; the other of Jupiter, styled Chrysaóreus, or *with the golden sword*, which was near the city, and common to all the Carians; who, as well as the Ionians, met at stated times to sacrifice, and to deliberate on their affairs. This assembly was named the Chrysaórean system or body, and was composed of villages; the greater number giving the cities, to which they belonged, precedence in voting. The Stratoniceans, when the sanctuaries were reformed under Tiberius Cæsar, produced before the Roman senate, by their deputies, the decrees of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, confirming to Jupiter and Hecate their privilege of asylum.

We found Jupiter Chrysaóreus mentioned twice on one stone; and in the wall of a spacious court, before the house of the aga, was an inscription* relating to both deities. The preamble declares, that the city in many great and lasting dangers had been preserved by these its tutelar gods; that their statues in the Senate-house furnished the most glaring evidence of their divine power, and of their presence; that crowds sacrificed and burned incense before them, suppli-

* See Chissull. *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 155.

cating or returning thanks, and testifying their religious veneration of them; the senate therefore decrees, that thirty boys, of good families, be chosen to go daily two and two in procession, with their governors, to the senate-house, all dressed in white, crowned with olive, and bearing each a branch in their hands, with the citharist and herald, to sing a hymn, to be composed by Sosander. The stone is in two pieces, the characters large, with ligatures intermixed, and of a late age. In the same wall were other inscribed fragments;* and near it an altar, and many marbles embossed with round shields. This aga was polite and affable beyond any Turk we had seen. His harám was impenetrable, or, as we were told, would have afforded us several inscriptions.

We have mentioned the tobacco-plant, as growing in the plain of Mylasa. Here the leaves were now gathered, and hanging in strings against the walls of the cottages to dry. The use of it and of coffee has been prohibited under some sultans. The smoking it, now so universal, was in 1610 a novel practice even at Constantinople;† where a Turk had been recently led about the streets in derision, with a pipe thrust through his nose, as a punishment to deter others from following his example. The Turks were then strangers to the plant, and content to purchase the refuse of the English market, not understanding the commodity. The knowledge of coffee and of its virtues was imported from Arabia; and by the Turkish account,‡ the first coffee-house was established at Constantinople in 1554.

From the traveller, who has remarked the inexperience of

* Inscript, Ant. p. 28.

† Sandys, p. 51.

‡ Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. 23. p. 264.

the Turks in the American weed, we learn, that the English were then unacquainted with the oriental berry. He describes the Turks as sitting in houses resembling taverns, sipping a drink called *coffa*, in little china dishes, as hot as they could endure, black as soot, and tasting not much unlike it. To this description of coffee he subjoins, "Why not the black broth of the Lacedæmonians?" a question, I believe, hitherto unanswered. I shall reply to it, that for making their black broth, the cook was furnished with salt and vinegar, and bid to procure what was wanting from a victim.* This, it has been conjectured, was blood. The epicure will not lament, that the entire recipe has not reached us.

CHAP. LVIII.

From Mylasa to Iasus—To Mendelet—A temple—An ancient town—Of Labranda and the temple of Jupiter—Inscriptions—The mountain—We re-enter Ionia.

THE month of October was now ending. The nights, to which our men were often exposed, without any cover, grew cold; and our janizary was ill. We found it necessary to hasten to our winter quarters. We engaged the Swiss, whom we met at Mylasa on our return to the khan, in our service; pleased with his activity and intrepidity. The purchase of a horse to carry him was managed by our Turk, who, with the seller opposite, sate on the ground cross-legged, and told down some pieces of gold, and after a pause added to them,

* Plutarch.

and so continued, until the price was accepted. We passed the first night, leaving Mylasa, in the sepulchre at Iasus.

On the way from Iasus to Mendelet, which is distant four hours, and three from Mylasa, we left the level green, with the booths of the Turcomans mentioned before, on our right hand; and, riding northward, through stubble of Turkey wheat, came in an hour to a beautiful and extensive plain covered with vines, olive and fig-trees, and flocks and herds feeding; and skirted by mountains with villages. We crossed it by a winding road, with the country-house of the aga of Mylasa on the right hand; and, passing a village called Iakli, unexpectedly discovered the solemn ruin of a temple; but, as it was dusk, we continued our journey to Mendelet, which was an hour farther on. The merchants, our late companions, had given us a letter to some Armenians, who kindly admitted us to partake in their apartment in the khan, which was full.

We returned in the morning to the temple, which was of the Corinthian order; sixteen columns, with part of their entablature standing; the cell and roof demolished. It is in a nook or recess; the front, which is toward the east, close by the mountain foot; the back and one side overlooking the plain. The style of the architecture is noble, and made us regret, that some members, and in particular the angle of the cornice, were wanting. Its marbles have been melted away, as it were piece-meal, in the furnaces for making lime, which are still in use, by the ruin.

A town has ranged with the temple on the north. The wall, beginning near it, makes a circuit on the hill, and descends on the side toward Mendelet. The thickets, which have over-run the site, are almost impenetrable, and prevented

my pursuing it to the top, but the lower portion may easily be traced. It had square towers at intervals, and was of a similar construction with the wall at Ephesus. Within it, is a theatre cut in the rock, with some seats remaining. In the vineyards beneath are broken columns and marble fragments, and in one, behind the temple, two large massive marble coffins, carved with festoons and heads; the lids on, and a hole made by force in their sides. They are raised on pediments; and, as you approach, appear like two piers of a gate-way. Beyond the temple are also some ruins of sepulchres. I was much disappointed in finding no inscriptions to inform us of the name of this deserted place; which from its position on a mountain by the way-side, and its distance from Mylasa, I am inclined to believe was Labranda.

Labranda, according to Strabo, was a village, seated on a mountain, in the road from Alabanda to Mylasa. The temple was ancient, and the image of wood. This was styled *The Military Jupiter*, and was worshipped by the people all around. The way was paved near sixty-eight stadia, or eight miles and a half, as far as Mylasa, and called *Sacred* from the victims and processions, which passed on it. The priesthood was conferred on the most illustrious of the citizens, and was an office held for life. *Ælian** has added two stadia, or a quarter of a mile, to the distance of the temple from the city, and relates, that in it was a clear fountain with tame fish, which wore golden necklaces and ear rings.

The ruin of this temple coincides with the description of it given by the geographer. The fabric tottering with age was, it seems, after his time gradually renewed, and chiefly

* De Nat. Animal. l. xii. c. 30.

by the contributions of the Stephanephori, or high priests. For on seven columns is an inscription,* which may be thus translated, "Leo Quintus, son of Leo, when Stephanephorus, gave this column, as he had promised, with the base and capital." And the following inscription is repeated on five or more of the columns, with some variation as to the length of the lines, and the ligatures of the letters: "Menecrates, son of Menecrates, chief physician of the city, when Stephanephorus, gave this column, with the base and capital; Tryphæna, his daughter, herself likewise Stephanephorus and Gymnasiarch, having provided it." From the form of certain characters in the latter inscriptions, it may be inferred, that Leo was the earlier benefactor.

We were visited here every evening by a flock of goats and their keeper. I ascended the acclivity of the mountain by the temple, and from the summit had an extensive view of the plain toward Mylasa. It was green with the cotton-plant and with vines. I would have tarried to enjoy this prospect, which was delightful, but was much annoyed with thick smoke; a fire, either accidental, or designed to consume the herbage, spreading along the side of the mountain, crackling, and seeming to threaten, unless I hastened away, to intercept my retreat.

When the Carians and Ionians revolted from Darius, they retired after a defeat near the river Marsyas to Labranda, to the large and holy grove of plane-trees, where they were joined by other troops, and by the Milesians. The distance between Mendelet and Miletus is reckoned nine hours. On the way thither we discovered Myús, as has been related.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 19.

Our course from Mendelet was twenty-five minutes north of west, with the summits of Titanus in view before us. We alighted after two hours, it being dusk, at Tarismanlá, a village near the end of the plain, and waited beneath some trees, until our men could procure us a place to lodge in, when a sudden gust of wind carried away one of our hats into a deep well. In the morning we ascended the mountain by a winding track shaded with pines, myrtle, and fragrant shrubs. We enjoyed on it a fine view of the plain, which we then left in our rear. The road was rough and narrow to Bafí, where we arrived in an hour. Beyond it we passed an old castle on a hill, and soon after had the lake with Ufa Bafí or Myús in sight. The reader may recollect that we found near this city marbles, which mention Jupiter of Labranda. Our journey from thence to Miletus has been already related.

CHAP. LIX.

We leave Myús—The mountain by Mendelet—Sources of a river—At Carpuseli—Sepulchres and a stadium—Other remains—Alabanda—The river Harpasus—The Mæander.

THE merchants, to whom we were recommended at Mendelet, informed us that Carpuseli was a place which afforded many antiquities. In our second tour we agreed to go thither from Myús. We set out on the 18th of April in the evening, and, after riding an hour and a half by the head of the lake, pitched our tent for the night under a spreading tree by a stream. Here we were serenaded in a disagreeable man-

ner; frogs croaking, as it were, in chorus; owls hooting; jackalls in troops howling; and the village-dogs barking.

In the morning we again entered the plain mentioned in the preceding chapter; and, crossing it near the end, came to the foot of the mountain, and began ascending with Mendelet on our right hand; the track, as may be conjectured, that which once led from Alabanda toward Miletus, and by Labranda to Mylasa. It winded northward by a small river with fish, the water forming cascades, and turning an overshot mill or two in its way down to the lake. On the sides are furnaces for working iron. Near the top we found a Turk sitting on the ground, while his horse was feeding, by a spring, under a tree.

In descending on the opposite side of the mountain, we passed some Turkish graves, which had each a bough of myrtle stuck at the head and feet. Beyond these were the sources of a river, probably that once called Harpasus, pellucid, and many in number. We pitched our tent below them on a brow by a Turkish village, after a continued and very laborious ride of ten hours.

We were on horseback again between six and seven in the morning, and travelled first eastward, and then south-eastward; the road good, the slopes covered with pines. The springs, which we saw the day before, had now united into a rapid transparent stream, abounding in fish. Our course lying to the south-east, we crossed it, and on the way met a Turk, a person of distinction, as appeared from his turban. He was on horseback, with a single attendant. Our janizary and Armenians respectfully alighted, and made him a profound obeisance, the former kissing the rim of his garment. He asked some questions, and went on. We arrived

about noon at Carpuseli, a village twelve hours north of Mylasa.

As we approached this place, many ancient graves occurred, cut on rock as at Myûs, and reaching over a tract of considerable extent; with some coffins, mostly plain, or without mouldings, of a brown coarse stone, and with holes broke in the sides. We rode by these, and through a ruined stadium, now a bazar, or market, the way lying between the shops, which formed a street. We pitched our tent further on, near the square basement of a large sepulchre, of handsome solid masonry, and inhabited; standing not far from one side of the city wall, which may be traced, except toward the plain, and was of the masonry termed *Pseudisodomum*. Some Turks came to us here, and one desired wine. He took his turban from his head, kissed, and laid it aside; and, after drinking, replaced it with the same ceremony.

We ascended the mountain by a way paved, but rough and slippery. The remains, which we had seen from below, were a terrace wall, with a square area, and vestiges of a colonnade. Many pedestals are standing, of a coarse, brown, ragged stone. Beyond these, in the rock, is a theatre, with remnants of the front; a cistern, a square tower, and the city wall inclosing a summit; near which is another, with seven deep oval cisterns in a row, lined with plaster. At a distance behind them are four piers of a broken aqueduct. A pond or two carefully embanked, at the mountain foot, are the present reservoirs. The plain is encompassed with hills, is pleasant, and has a stream running in it toward the Harpasus.

I was here again disappointed in finding no inscription to inform us of the ancient name of the place; but suppose it to have been Alabanda. That city is described as situated be-

neath the summits of a mountain. The founder Alabandus was worshipped there with greater devotion than any of the noble deities. The people were luxurious and gluttonous, and the city was full of female minstrels. It was much infested with scorpions, as were in general the places lying on the range of mountains between it and Mylasa. The ridge of Alabanda had been likened to an ass with a pack-saddle; and a wag added, carrying a load of these insects. Pococke relates, that at Mendelet some persons die, every summer, by their sting.

Leaving Carpuseli at six in the morning, and going north-eastward, in about an hour and a half we forded the Harpasus, the bed now wide, crooked, and sandy. Our course changing a little to the east, we crossed it several times, and passed by some villages. At ten we proceeded northward, on its bank, in a valley. We were surrounded with the delightful trilling of innumerable nightingales; and the fish were visible in the crystal stream. This river is described by the shepherd-poet of Smyrna as impetuous after rain, roaring whole days at its junction with the Mæander.* A town, called from it, Harpasia, is mentioned by Pliny; now, if I mistake not, Arpas-kalesi, a ruined place, walled, on a hill above a small plain between the mountains, about a mile south of the Mæander, directly opposite to Nosli.†

We passed several villages, and leaving the clear Harpasus behind us, came at one to the turbid Mæander, then deep in its bed; a side of the bank torn away by the violence of the current. We were two minutes in ferrying over in a triangular boat, the rope of vine-stocks hanging down lax in the

* Q. Smyrnæus, *l. v.* 144.

† Pococke.

water. The stream below made an elbow. An ordinary causey, across some low morassy ground, succeeded, with groves of tamarisk, and a wide road, on which we met many people. The ferry is distant about an hour from Guzel-hissar, once called *Magnesia by the Mæander*.

CHAP. LX.

Pococke's journey to Carpuseli—To Mylasa—To Eski-hissar, or Stratonicea, and places adjacent—To Arabi-hissar, or Alinda.

WE shall give here an abstract of Pococke's journey into Caria, from Guzel-hissar.* He passed the Mæander at the ferry, when the bed was full; the stream rapid, and a furlong broad. He describes the vine-boughs, of which the rope consisted, as about an inch and a half in diameter, and from ten to fifteen feet long. Three men pulled the boat over, a post fixed in it resting against the rope. The mouth of the Harpasus, which he calls the China, is, as he relates, about a mile below the ferry. The river has a wooden bridge, about eight miles further eastward, built on nine or ten large stone piers, and about three hundred feet long. He crossed there, and went on a league to Salashar, where he lodged in a miserable khan. The next day the road lay between little green hills, for about a league and a half, when he came into the small fertile plain of Carpuseli, and to the ruined city on the south of it; which, he observes, exactly answers to the situation of Alabanda.

* P. 57.

From the south-east corner of this plain, Pococke ascended southwards, about three miles, to the top of the mountain, where is a plain about a league broad. He calls the range Mount Latmus, and was told, it was frequented by wolves, wild boars, and jackalls; and also by bears and tigers. Many herdsmen dwell on it; and, in some places, it was ploughed up, and the fields inclosed, with large trees laid around the edges. A low, easy descent, led into the vale of Mylasa, which he computes about four leagues long, and one broad.

He set out from Mylasa on the 20th of February for Eski-hissar or Stratonicea, distant about twelve miles, and crossed the mountains to the north-east. He describes that place as between hills, on a level spot opening to a large plain, in which the river China runs. He descended from thence, and going a league to the north, and then about two to the west, ascended near a league to a village called Lakena; about a mile from which is a ruined castle, strongly situated. The next morning, he went about two leagues north to the river Paieslu, which runs into the China; and then crossing the hills to the west, for the space of three leagues, came to one of the villages called Akshouieh; and going on a league to the west, between low rocky hills, and by the side of a rivulet with a bridge, which he passed over, saw a remnant of an old aqueduct; and, entering a fine plain, travelled across it two miles northward to the village of China, which is situated at the east end, to the south of the river of that name. He went up the hill, of which the top had been fortified, and saw there two or three sepulchral grots, and a cistern cased with brick, above ground, consisting of two oblong square compartments. The village Lakena seems

the ancient Lagina, where Hecate had her temple. The castle near it, and that by China, are probably the two in the territory of Stratonicea, once called Tendebe and Astragon.

Crossing over to the south side of the plain from China, he came to Arabi-hissar, where are considerable ruins of an ancient city, which he describes, and supposes to have been, Alinda. From hence he went about a league south-west in the plain, crossed some low hills, and returned to Guzel-hissar, after re-passing the bridge over the China. The river, says Pococke, rises in the south-east part of Caria, beyond Aphrodisias: and, running through the valley, which is near Stratonicea and Lagina, turns to the north a little before it falls into the Mæander. The chain of mountains between the two rivers afford fine herbage for sheep and black cattle, in which the country abounds. The reader will observe, that he has given a much longer course to the China than that assigned by us to the Harpasus. He was ignorant of the transparent springs, which we discovered, and which plainly appeared the sources of this or the principal stream.

CHAP. LXI.

*Of Guzel-hissar—Intelligence of the plague—The basha—
Fright of our janizary—Magnesia—The river Lethæus—
The remains—Of Hylæ—Distance from Ephesus and
Tralles.*

GUZEL-HISSAR, the beautiful Castle, is a large and very populous town; the houses mean, with trees, lofty domes, and minarets of mosques interspersed; a high hill, anciently

called Thorax, towering behind. It is the place of residence of a basha. The air, in the hot months, is so bad as to be almost pestilential. We met many passengers on the road; and the burying-grounds were strewn with broken columns and remnants of marble. At entering the town, we were surprised to see around us innumerable tame turtle-doves, sitting on the branches of trees, on the walls, and roofs of houses, cooing unceasingly. We were conducted to a miserable khan, close, and crowded with people.

We had here alarming intelligence of the plague at Smyrna, the daily havoc it made, and the rapidity with which the fierce contagion was then propagated; threatening to overspread the whole country before the end of the summer. It was impossible a great thoroughfare, situated like Guzeli-hissar, if free, could continue long without infection. We had room to be apprehensive of the malady, and to be impatient to leave so suspicious a place, where we were pent up in a small chamber and gallery, among doves and travellers, chiefly Turks; devoured by myriads of insects; and suffering alike from extreme heat and from chagrin, not daring to go out of the gate before we had permission from the basha.

This important officer lived in a despicable house on the hill; his harám, which is more showy, standing separate, and both surrounded by an ordinary wall. Eight agas, each with a retinue of an hundred men, were then in the town, waiting his commands. We had a recommendatory letter to his mohurdar or treasurer, which was delivered, with a present of a handsome snuff-box, by the janizary, and graciously received. He promised to mention us to the basha, but his engagements were so many, it was not easy to find an op-

portunity ; and in the mean time we were confined to our khan.

Our unwieldy janizary had several tiresome journies on this business up to the castle. On the second afternoon he returned with the welcome news, that we were at liberty. The Mohurdar had requested for us letters to the agas farther eastward, but was denied ; the basha being then at enmity, and, before we left Asia Minor, at open war with some leading men in that part of the country. The janizary was pale and quivering as with fear. He refused even coffee, and lay down to sleep, with strong symptoms of violent perturbation. He had been engaged, as he afterwards related, in an insurrection of the janizaries in the island of Candia, to depose the governor, who, for some offence, had seized on six of their brethren ; and, when he was admitted into the presence of the basha, a privilege, which the janizaries claim, to kiss his hand or garment, he immediately knew him to be that person ; but fortunately was not in turn recognized. This unexpected rencounter had confounded poor Mustapha to such a degree, that he came back almost doubting whether his head was still on his shoulders.

Magnesia was peopled by a colony of *Æolians* from Thesaly. The city was in the plain by Thorax, at no great distance from the Mæander, but much nearer to the Lethæus, which rose in the Ephesian mountain Pactyas, and fell into that river. Its principal ornament was a temple of Diana, called *Leucophryene* or the *White-browed*, which had the privilege of an asylum or sanctuary, and was larger than any in Asia, except the two at Ephesus and at Branchidæ. It excelled the former in elegance, and in the fitting up of the cell, but was inferior in the number of offerings. It was a

pseudodipteros, and had eight columns in front, and fifteen on the sides, counting the angular columns. The order was Ionic; and the architect the celebrated Hermogenes, who invented that species. He was a native of Alabanda; and a treatise on the fabric was once extant, written by him. A favourite Citharist was painted in the market-place, clothed with the sacred purple of Jupiter Sosipolis, or *the Saviour of the city*; and had also a brass statue in the theatre. Some *limocks*, which we passed in our way from the ferry, were once the islets called Derasidæ and Sophonia, mentioned by Pliny as taken by nature from Magnesia. The town, which, when this happened, was not very remote from the sea, had, in a more early period, been maritime. The shore has since been gradually removed still farther off.

The river Lethæus divides the present town, which has a lofty, but ordinary, bridge over the course. It descends through a narrow and deep-worn vale, on the east-side of the castle, with a mountain behind it of light brown earth, being a portion of Messogis. The stream, which in winter is a deep torrent, was now shallow. It received many brooks and rills on the sides, and was clear and rapid. Water bubbled up in several places in the bed, which was wide and partly dry. One of these springs is noted as remarkably cold and copious; and, as our guide told us, is highly esteemed and much drunk of by the Turks, and other inhabitants, during the hot months.

Magnesia was given to Themistocles to supply bread for his table. The goddess Ceres, standing in a car drawn by winged serpents, and bearing in each hand a lighted torch, is seen on the reverse of a medallion of the emperor Antoninus.*

* See Museum C. Albani v. 1. pl. 26.

struck by this city ; and in one of the streets we found a square capital, which, it is likely, belonged to her temple. The device on it was a poppy between two wheat-ears and two torches. We saw also many fragments of architecture of the Corinthian and Ionic orders. After viewing the town, we ascended to the castle, and were conducted to an eminence, about a quarter of an hour beyond it, where is a ruin which resembles the arcade at Troas ; consisting of a piece or two of wall standing, and three massive arches ; each painted with a garland in the centre, and two on the sides, encircling an inscription, of which some letters, with ends of fillets, are visible. The fabric has been repaired or re-edified, and some inscribed marbles are inserted in it, but too high to be legible. A Turk had purchased the materials, but the arcade is too solid a building to be easily and suddenly demolished. We enjoyed from it a delightful prospect of the plain, and of the Mæander. We discovered no stadium or theatre. The vestiges, if any remain, were concealed in the town by the buildings ; or, without it, by stone-fences, olive-trees, and high corn.

In the territory of this city was a place called Hylæ, with a cave sacred to Apollo. This was of no extraordinary size, but the image of the god was one of the most ancient. It was believed, that he furnished ability for every undertaking. His servants leaped down the steep rocks and precipices ; or, felling tall trees, walked on them, with burthens, over the narrow passes of the mountain. The cave perhaps remains. I could get no intelligence of it or of Hylæ ; but Picenini relates, that in the way to the house and garden of the basha on the hill, they were shewn a cave near the walls

of the ancient city, which, they were told, extended underground as far as they could go in two days.

The great road to the East from Ephesus was through Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa, and Antiochia. Magnesia, according to Strabo and Pliny, was only fifteen miles from Ephesus, but Picenini makes it eleven hours from Aiasalúck. He set out with his companions before five in the evening, going southward, and came to the vale, in which is the ancient bridge. They passed then over hills and through valleys. The next day they travelled in a pleasant plain, very extensive on their right hand, with the high tops of a mountain on their left, and arrived at Magnesia. The mountain was Messogis, and the plain that of the Mæander, but they seem not to have taken the direct road. The distance of Magnesia from Tralles was about eighteen miles. The way to it was in the plain of the Mæander. This was also on the right hand, and Messogis on the left; which arrangement was continued as far as Nysa and Antiochia.

CHAP. LXII.

Of Tralles and Nysa—Characa—Tralles restored by Augustus Cæsar—Destroyed by the Turks—Rebuilt—Of Brula, Mastaura and Armata.

TRALLES and Nysa were situated alike with respect to the plain, being both above it to the north. Tralles was seated on a flat, the eminence terminating in an abrupt point, and inaccessible all around. The greater part of Nysa reclined on the mountain, which was Messogis; and the city

was divided, as it were, into two, by a torrent, which had formed a deep bed. One portion of the course had a bridge over it, to connect the sides ; and another was adorned with an amphitheatre, under which a passage was left for the waters. Below the theatre were two precipices ; and on one of them was a gymnasium ; on the other, the agora, or market place, and the senate house.

In the way, between Tralles and Nysa, was a village of Nyséans, not far from the city, Characa or Acharaca ; and a Plutonium or temple of Pluto and Prosperine, with a beautiful grove above it, and a charonium, or cave, of a wonderful nature. Thither sick people resorted, and the deities were their physicians, suggesting, as was believed, efficacious remedies in dreams, most commonly to the priests, who were expert in managing their patients, and would often lead them into the cave. They sometimes remained in it, as in a pit, several days fasting ; but persons not guided by them perished in it. A general assembly was celebrated there yearly, when, toward noon, the youth of the gymnasium, with the boys, all naked and anointed, drove a bull with shoutings to the mouth of the cave, where he was let loose, and on entering fell down dead.

The geographer, Strabo, who studied rhetoric and grammar at Nysa, mentions Tralles as inhabited, if any of the Asian cities, by wealthy persons ; some of whom were always Asiarchæ, or prefects of the province under the Romans. Among its eminent men, his contemporaries, was Pythodorus, a native of Nysa, and friend of Pompey. But Tralles, though an opulent and thriving place, seems then to have contained nothing very remarkable. A prodigy is recorded to have happened there in the civil war. A palm-

tree was seen springing from between the stones of the pavement in the temple of Victory, in which a statue of Cæsar had been erected. An earthquake happening, the edifices which suffered were rebuilt by Augustus. A writer,* who lived in the sixth century relates, that a husbandman named Chæremon, in a transport of affliction and zeal for his country, hastened to the emperor, who was then in Cantabria, and by his entreaties prevailed on him to restore the city, which, he observes, had retained its form unaltered from that period. He found in a field near Tralles a pedestal, which had supported a statue of this person, and copied from it the inscription, which he has preserved. It is in the Doric dialect, which was spoken there, and introduced by the Argives, who, with some Thracians, founded Tralles.

The Turks in 1175 making an irruption into the Roman empire on this side, and laying it waste, Tralles and Antiochia capitulated. In 1266 they seized many towns and monasteries; but Tralles, with other advanced places, was secured by the Roman general. In the following year the Turks extended their frontier to the river Sangarius. Micheal Paleologus was then emperor. The garrisons by the Mæander, in Caria, Antiochia and the interior region, were exceedingly weak; and the fortresses by the Cayster, with Priene and Miletus, taken.

Andronicus, son of Paleologus, and his associate in the empire, arriving with succours in 1280, was charmed with the situation of Tralles, and resolved to rebuild the city, and replace in it the families, which had been driven out. He intended calling it Paleologopolis or Andronicopolis; and it

is related, that on a marble dug up by the workmen an oracle was found incised, foretelling the restoration of Tralles, and promising long life to its new founder. When the walls were raised, it became one of the most considerable places by the Mæander; people, it is likely, flocking to it as a strong-hold. It had thirty-five thousand inhabitants; but was destitute both of reservoirs to receive rain, and of wells, which it seemed impossible to dig sufficiently deep. An army of Turks suddenly appeared, and intercepted the supply of water from the river. The citizens, persevering in their defence, they entered by storm, and put them all to the sword; Andronicus not moving from Nymphæum near Smyrna. The Turks had before subdued Nysa.*

On the same side of the Mæander, were two other places worth mentioning, Briula and Mastaura, the former of which, on the establishment of Christianity, was made the seat of a bishop; and in the mountain, above Nysa, was Aromata, or, as the name seems to have been pronounced, Armata, noted for its wine, which excelled any other produced on Messogis. A village named Iack-cui, six miles eastward, is supposed by Pococke to have been Briula; and one, at an entrance in between the hills is, as he relates, still called Mastauo. He also mentions some walls on a very high summit over Nysa, which, he conjectures, may be remains of Aromata; but that perhaps was the name only of a district planted with vines.

* Pechemyrus, p. 320.

CHAP. LXIII.

We arrive at Sultan-hissar—Of Eski-hissar—The supposed site of Tralles—Nysa—Approach to Tralles and Nysa—The remains of Tralles—Origin of Sultan-hissar—Proximity of Tralles and Nysa—Continue our journey.

WE set out from Magnesia on the 23d at noon, going eastward. By the road near the town were several wells in a row, with attic bases of columns perforated, and placed over the mouths. These we supposed remnants of the famous temple of Diana. The way was straight and wide in the plain; the soil light and sandy, like that of Messogis the mountain on our left hand. On each side of us were orchards of fig-trees sown with corn; and many nightingales were singing in the bushes. We passed some dry water-courses, and rivulets running down to the Mæander; which was once in view, the stream winding, with a ferry. It was dusk when we pitched our tent by Sultan-hissar, which is about five hours from Magnesia.

Sultan-hissar is an old fortress with houses in and by it; standing in the plain; the site corresponding neither with that of Tralles nor with Nysa. It has, however, some marble fragments, which have been removed from adjacent ruins; and on inquiry, we were informed that the eminence before us had on it some remains of old buildings; that the place was called Eski-hissar, and distant about half an hour. We now expected to find Tralles and Nysa there. It stands on a root of Mount Messogis, running out into the plain and

ending abruptly ; once, perhaps, what it now resembles, a lofty promontory encompassed with smooth water.

In the morning we crossed the plain to the foot of the eminence, which we ascended, going toward the body of Mount Messogis. The road up it was stony, and carried over a deep, but dry water-course, by an arch. Then followed broken vaults of sepulchres, and distinct remnants of buildings, all stripped of their marble ; standing on a flat covered with corn, trees, fences, and walls. This immediately appeared to me to be the site of Tralles, which had a river or torrent near it called Eudon.

Leaving these ruins, the road, still on the eminence, carried us eastward, and then to the south. We passed by a few cottages, where I inquired for the Charonium, thinking we were at Chraca. We soon came to other vaults of sepulchres and ruins, plainly of Nysa ; not on a flat. Here we found a large theatre in the mountain-side, with many rows of seats, almost entire, of blue-veined marble fronting westward. By the left wing is a wide and very deep water-course, the bed of the river once called Thebaites, making a vast gap into the plain, but concealed in the front of the theatre, where is a wide level area, with soil, supported by a bridge ; beyond which, in the hollow, was the stadium, or, according to Strabo, the amphitheatre, with the seats resting on the two slopes. The bottom of this structure is destroyed, and only some masses of brickwork remain, with some marble fragments by the end next the theatre, where you have a view of the lofty and solid piers, with arches, sustaining the area. The eminence terminates on each side of the amphitheatre in a precipice. On one side is the ruin of the gymnasium, and on the other, of the senate-house ; by which is the area.

or vacant space of the market. The site of Nysa, as well as of Tralles, was covered with corn, and fences of piled stones. We had from it a delightful prospect of the plain and of the crooked Mæander. Our guide assured us we had now seen all the ruins near Sultan-hissar.

We have described Tralles and Nysa as having one approach from the plain, on the west side of the eminence, where the road dividing leads on the left to Tralles, and on the right to Nysa. This was the only avenue, which required to be defended; and the Turks, it is likely, stormed Tralles after undermining the wall there, or beneath the amphitheatre at Nysa.

The buildings at Tralles, as may be inferred from the remains, were originally composed mostly of stones or pebbles, with cement. Andronicus, as it were, destroyed the city, by rebuilding it. The houses were hastily finished, and old Tralles in good measure demolished by the new settlement; of which the vestiges extant, after five hundred years, are few, besides loose stones and rubbish.

In the year 1403 we find Tamerlane at Sultan-hissar: which fortress was probably erected by the Turks to cut off the communication with the river, or to prevent the Romans from settling again on the mountain.

The ruins on the eminence, though separate, are at a very small distance from each other in a straight line. The distance of Tralles from Magnesia in Strabo is one hundred and forty stadia, or seventeen miles and a half; in Pliny, eighteen miles. Neither of these authors has noted the distance of Nysa from Magnesia; probably because included in that of Tralles. They have also omitted the distance between Tralles and Nysa, as inconsiderable. If the materials and masses of

buildings were removed from Tralles, its site would be no longer distinguishable; but at Nysa, the hill will always retain the concavity or figure of a theatre. Nysa is here ascertained by undubitable tokens; and its distance from Guzel-hissar or Magnesia is an argument for the proximity, which has been supposed between it and Tralles.*

We set forward again about noon, and riding through Sultan-hissar, came to Nosli-bazar or *The Market of Nosli*, the town called Nosli-Boiuc or *Great Nosli*, appearing with white minarets at a distance on our right hand toward the Mæander. This place is supposed to have been Antiochia. We pursued our journey eastward without stopping.

CHAP. LXIV.

Of Antiochia, Coscinia, and Orthosia—Picenini's route to Nosli—To Jeni-sheir—To Geyra—To Ipsili-hissar—To Laodicea—Remarks—Pococke's route to Jeni-sheir and Geyra—Roads, and distances of places.

ANTIOCHIA, though a great thoroughfare, was but a middling city. It had a bridge over the Mæander, and was liable to earthquakes. Its territory, which lay on each side of the river, was large and fruitful, and produced in plenty the figs, called Antiochene and Three-leaved, the same, it is likely, which are now, as formerly, dried; and which we purchased in these parts, strung like beads, and found extremely good, as well as cheap. In 1176 the town surrendered to the Turks; and in 1198 was in danger from the Sultan of Iconium.

* The Tralles of Smith and Wheeler is the real Nysa. See also Pococke, p. 67..

but escaped by an accident. In 1206 it was besieged by the Turkish army, and relieved by Lascar, emperor of Nicea. This region had besides two places, beyond the Mæander, worthy of notice, Conscinia and Orthosia; the latter afterwards an episcopal see. A stream running from Coscinia toward Alabanda was remarkable for its windings.

Picenini and his companions left Gussel-hissar at five in the afternoon, and at nine came to a hut called Chiosek or Chiauskui. The next morning they set out at six, and at eight reached Sultan-hissar. Soon after they passed through a village called Homerkioui, in the way to the town of Nosli, where they arrived at eleven. They were pleased with the civility of the Turks, with the three mosques, the houses, and the neatness of the streets.

From Nosli these travellers went eastward through the plain; and, after about four hours, stopped on the banks of the Mæander, which river they crossed the next morning, and then in an hour saw an old castle called Jeni-sheir upon a hill, with arched caves or vaults at the foot. They ascended to it, having passed a rivulet named Gengere, and found besides thick walls, built with small stones, a few fragments of columns. From these ruins, returning eastward, they had a fine view of the Mæander in the plain below, and found there a lion carved in white marble, the head and hind parts missing, the back inscribed with the word $\sigma\delta\omicron\varsigma$, *The way*, which shews it was designed as an index for passengers.

Leaving the Mæander behind, they went on, more to the south in a vale almost uncultivated; and at noon halted by some mills near the source of the rivulet which they had repassed; and arrived, after two hours more, at Geyra, distant twenty hours from Guzel-hissar. There they met with many

ruins and inscriptions; and of the latter copied near a hundred.

From Geyra, going eastward and sometimes northwardly, among hills, they came to a lofty mountain, which they ascended by a rough track amid thickets and pines. Narrow valleys succeeded, and after four short hours they reached Ipsili-hissar, a castle on a pointed hill within the mountain, and two hours, as they were told, from the Mæander. They found there about fifty Turkish cottages and a mosque, by which were three inscriptions, with a few other remains.

Their road lay again through narrow valleys. After two hours they thrice passed a rivulet, called Hagi-sic, remarkable for winding like the Mæander, into which it runs; and after three hours came to Gerelikioi, a pleasant village about a short hour from that river. Going four hours more, eastward, among pleasant hills and vales, they arrived at Laodicea.

It seems probable that Jeni-sheir was anciently Orthosia, and that the vaults or arches are remains of sepulchres; and also, that Ipsili-hissar was Coscinia, and the winding rivulet, that is mentioned as running toward Alabanda. The inscriptions, which they copied, proved Geyra to have been Aphrodisias, a place ranked by Strabo among the smaller towns, lying round about Laodicea and Apamea. Some of them have been published by Chissul; but many more, equally worthy the attention of the learned, are preserved in a manuscript, which was Lord Oxford's, now in the British Museum.

Pococke* reached Jeni-sheir by a different route; going

* P. 68.

2 K

from Nosli about four miles south to the Mæander, where was a wooden bridge; and from thence to Arpas-kalesi; then turning south, and going to a village two leagues farther eastward, at the entrance of a narrow vale, which extends southward between the hills. He describes Jenishair as to the east of this place, a hill stretching from east to west with ruins on it of the walls of a town, and with a great number of arches underground. It was there the Turkish army in 1739 subdued the famous rebel, Soley Bey Ogle, who was slain, with four thousand of his followers. He then entered the narrow vale, and going about eight miles to the south, left a town or large village on the west. This place, called Carajesu, was invincible to Soley Bey, the deep beds of torrents protecting it from assault. He then turned eastward, and going four miles in a plain, which he computes about two leagues long from east to west, and one broad, arrived at Geyra; from whence he returned to Nosli.

We shall conclude this chapter with an account of the ancient route through Caria and Ionia, as preserved, with the order of the places and their distances, by Strabo. On the way to Ephesus from Physcus, which was on the continent of Asia opposite to Rhodes, you came to Lagina, distant eight hundred and fifty stadia, or one hundred six miles and a quarter; then to Alabanda, two hundred and fifty stadia, or thirty one miles and a quarter; then to Tralles, one hundred and sixty stadia, or twenty miles. The Mæander was crossed about midway between Alabanda and Tralles, where were the boundaries of Caria; and the whole distance from Physcus to the river was eleven hundred and eighty stadia, or one hundred forty seven miles and a half. From

the Mæander to Tralles the distance was eighty stadia, or ten miles; then to Magnesia one hundred and forty stadia, or seventeen miles and a half; then to Ephesus one hundred and twenty, or fifteen miles; to Smyrna three hundred and twenty, or forty miles; to Phocæa and the Ionian boundaries, less than two hundred, or twenty-five miles. Thus the extent of Ionia was a little more than eight hundred stadia,* or one hundred miles. The most common road to the East from Ephesus, as has been mentioned before, was by Antiochia, and from thence to Carura, seven hundred and forty stadia, or ninety-two miles and a half; and then through Laodicea† and Apamea, called Cibotos.

* Strabo gave also the extent of the coast of Ionia, with its windings; but the passage is imperfect, p. 632. It is much lessened, since his time, between Ephesus and Posidium.

† In Peutinger's table, the distance between Carura and Laodicea is xx miles; but the numbers can seldom be relied on.

Peutinger's, or the Theodosian table, is a most curious relique of antiquity. If the Antonine Itinerary, and the many distances of places and the different routes to be found scattered in various old authors, were carefully compared with it, most of the present difficulties would be removed; the true readings would be restored, the authority of the respective numbers would be ascertained, and ancient geography receive a considerable and very useful improvement. For an account of Peutinger's Table, see p. 115. *Acta Lipsiensia* for the year 1753.

CHAP. LXV.

Our journey continued—The Asian meadow—We cross the Mæander—Carura—Ruin of a bridge—A hot spring.

THE road, which we took from Sultan-hissar, was that which anciently led to Carura and to Laodicea in Phrygia, without passing through Antiochia. We met on it many passengers, and mules, and long strings of camels. The ground was dry, the soil fine, and covered with corn, with fig and olive trees. Our course was a little north of east. After five hours we pitched our tent. A summit of the mountain, on the south-side of the Mæander, or of Taurus, which was opposite to us, had snow on it. On our left was a rising ground beneath the hilly range of Messogis, with a large village; and on the level in the front were many deep wells, each furnished with a tall pole supporting a long lever, from which hung a rope and a wooden bucket to raise water for the caravans.

Mount Messogis, beyond Nosli-bazar, becomes less wide and lofty than before, and is over-topped by Mount Tmolus. I observed a remarkable gap in the range of Messogis, opening a view into a green plain, at some distance on our left hand. I wished to explore this pleasant region; but our route was settled, and the sudden changing it might have been attended with inconveniencies, if not with danger. That was the place, if I mistake not, called Leimon, or *The Meadow*, which is described as lying above Mount Tmolus, and the southern parts of Messogis, thirty stadia, or three miles

and three quarters from Nysa. The inhabitants of this city, and all around it, held there a general assembly. They said it was the Asian meadow of Homer; and shewed the monument of Asius, and also of Cayster, with the source of the river named from him; and not far off was the mouth of a cave sacred to Pluto and Proserpine, supposed to communicate with that at Characa. Besides these objects of inquiry, the traveller may, it is likely, discover a castle in this tract; for we read that the grand duke Roger, after defeating the Turks, condemned the governor of the fort of Asi on the Mæander for deserting it.

At seven in the morning we pursued our journey eastward, the mountains now projecting, and the plain getting narrower. At half after ten we pushed on to a coffee-shed by the road-side; a sudden gust of wind, from black clouds in the west, driving before it a thick dust, which was followed by a furious shower in our backs. The brooks swelled, and in the afternoon ran down with noise to the Mæander. We tarried near three hours; and then set out for a ferry, which we were told would save us an hour. We arrived at it in three hours and a half. The current was strong and muddy, the float old and heavy, but we crossed in a minute and a quarter.

We now approached the site of Carura, anciently a village with khans or inns for travellers; in one of which a large company, while revelling, had been swallowed up by an earthquake. It was remarkable for surges or eruptions of hot waters, in the river, or on its margin;* and was the boundary of Caria toward Phrygia.

* Strabo, p. 576. See Pausanias, p. 241.

Riding along the bank of the river, we discovered the ruin of an ancient bridge. The remnant was on the farther side, and consists of half of the central arch, with one smaller arch entire. This bridge was probably broken before the year 1244; when an interview being agreed on between the emperor of Nice and the Turkish sultan, the latter passed the river, in his way to Tripolis, on a temporary bridge made of rafts for the occasion.

The existence of Carura, it is likely, was determined by the loss of the passage. We saw no traces of that place; but, going near the ruin, one of our horses turned short, which led us to observe a vein of hot water boiling up out of the ground, like a jetté, some inches perpendicular, and forming a small quagmire. We now enter Phrygia.

CHAP. LXVI.

Our journey continued—Temple of Men Carus—Denisi—The Turks uncivilized—Arrive at Laodicea—Our tent beset—Our janizary seized—Behaviour of an aga—Thieves—The weather.

CONTINUING our journey, we lost sight of the river; the plain widened again, and was cultivated, but not inclosed, as before. Messogis was now of a chalky aspect; and the mountain on our right green with trees. We saw a few scattered booths of Turcomans. At four our course inclined to east-south-east. We observed many jays, and upupas, and a beautiful bird, like a hawk, with blue glossy plumage. We had travelled eight hours and three quarters, when we pitched our tent by a village under a summit covered with snow.

The following day our course was as before, the river not in view. The sun shone very comfortably, and the melted snow ran in dirty rills down the slopes. On the way some stones and vestiges of a building occurred; perhaps of a temple once between Carura and Laodicea, called that of Men Carus,* and held in high veneration. In Strabo's time a great school of physicians flourished there. The same author has mentioned a temple of Men Asæus or Arcuæus, also in Phrygia. The priesthood, which was dissolved, had possessed a multitude of consecrated servants and holy places. In Armenia was a temple of Men Pharnaces, of vast sanctity; the village resembling a city. The priest received the revenue arising from the sacred servants and territory. These, with another or two, noted by Strabo, were likewise temples of Selene. The deity worshipped in them was, it seems, that called by the Romans Lunus and Luna, or *the Moon*. We arrived at Denisli in four hours.

Denisli is fortified by an ordinary wall, which incloses a few cottages, and resembles Segigeck. The gateway, on our approach, was crowded with men and boys. Our janizary and Swiss tarried there to purchase provisions and other necessaries, while we dismounted in a meadow at a small distance, expecting their return. Our baggage-horses were scarcely unloaded, when both rejoined us; the Swiss complaining, that the Greeks understood only the Turkish language, in which he was not expert; the other to inform us, we were required by the owner of the ground to change our *conac* or *resting-place*. We removed to a tree, under which we dined, by a muddy stream, and were wetted by a smart shower.

* Strabo, p. 580. See p. 557. 577. 503.

We had lately perceived an alteration in the carriage of the Turks ; who, in the interior regions, seldom see strangers, and are full of ferocity. A general want of cordiality toward us had been apparent, and some trifling insults we had received on the road were forerunners of more inconvenient incivilities. Some Turks here told us, we had no danger to apprehend on this side of the plain ; but if we proceeded to Pambouk on the farther side we must be cautious, for the Turcomans in that quarter were robbers and murderers.

We set out again for Eski-hissar or Laodicea, then distant an hour northward, the way between hills. A Turk, whose dress and mien bespoke him above the common rank, overtook us ; and, our men inquiring, courteously directed them to a commodious situation for our tent, which we pitched in the evening in a small rising, on the edge of the plain, by the junction of two streams.

We were in general very much fatigued, and about sun-set lay down to rest ; an Armenian or two watching our horses, which were staked and grazing by the tent. Some time after it was dark, we were suddenly surrounded by armed men, conducted by the Turk, who had recommended this spot. Their business was to demand *bac-shish* for their aga. They pryed into our baggage, prancing their long-tailed horses, and threatening, if they were not immediately gratified. We were too soundly asleep within the tent to be easily awakened. The Swiss, shaking the relater by the hand, informed him of the quality and importunity of these unwelcome visitants. He was bid to tell their chief, that the aga should be satisfied in the morning ; and the janizary urging, that the hour was unseasonable, and that we purposed stay-

ing, they were prevailed on to depart, taking him with them to pacify their master.

At the dawn of day a Turk was sent to observe if we were stirring, and the janizary set out with our firhman, and a present of coffee, sugar, and money ; but the aga declared, he would have at least an hundred and thirty piastres ; and Mustapha, pleading our *firhman*, and presuming to remonstrate, was seized, disarmed, and thrown into prison. In the meantime we were very uneasy at the tent, presaging no good from his long stay. After some hours we saw him coming without his gun, pistol, or sabre ; terrified and dejected. He exclaimed, we were among rebels and robbers ; that the roads were beset to prevent our escape, and the aga, if we hesitated to comply with his demand, was determined to cut us in pieces, and take possession of our baggage.

The janizary described this aga as uncommonly fierce and haughty, and bade us apprehend the very worst consequences, from his intemperance and savage disposition. The impression made on him was communicated to our Armenians, and we all disliked our situation. After a short consultation, I gave him twenty zechins, affirming truly, that we had no money to spare, but might want even that sum before we reached Smyrna. He ventured back, with some reluctance, into the presence of the aga, who was prevailed on to receive it, but with difficulty ; and then inquired about our firhman, which he before had refused to hear named. The janizary returned to him again with it, and, after it had been read, he refunded nine of the zechins ; believing, as he was told, that we belonged to the English ambassador, and were going from Smyrna to Constantinople ; and fearing we might complain

there of his behaviour. He now said he would be responsible for our safety.

As soon as this business was adjusted, we began to examine the site of Laodicea, which was close by us. On the first day, we were attended by one of the aga's men, a mean, ill-looking fellow, who required a piaster, his pay, and in the evening left us. The janizary who, by that time, had slept away his fatigue and chagrin, went back with him to the village, about an hour distant, for his bridle, which had been exchanged for one of no value. We were visited at our tent, during our stay here, by several of the natives, and Turcomans, who manifested so savage and bad a disposition, that our men established a regular watch. They stole our pipes, and took even earthen bowls; a species of petty larceny, which exceedingly distressed some of our company.

The Mæander, running between the hill of Laodicea and Mount Messogis, divides the plain, which there becomes narrow. Our view eastward was terminated by mountains not very remote. The summits on the south and south-east were covered with snow. From the first quarter we had a very sharp piercing breeze at the dawn of day; and from the latter, as soon as the sun was risen. At noon the atmosphere was smoky, the sky hot and fiery: and then cloudy, with showers. It thundered in the north and north-west. We experienced, as it were, winter and summer in the space of twenty-four hours.

CHAP. LXVII.

*Of Laodicea—The amphitheatre—An inscription—A ruin—
The odcum—Other remains, and two theatres—The hill—
The rivers—Modern history of Laodicea.*

THE city Laodicea was named from Laodice, the wife of its founder Antiochus, the son of Stratonice.† It was long an inconsiderable place, but increased toward the age of Augustus Cæsar, after having suffered in a siege from Mithridates. The fertility of the soil, and the good fortune of some of its citizens, raised it to greatness. Hiero, who adorned it with many offerings, left the people his heir to more than two thousand talents. After that benefactor followed Zeno, the rhetorician; and his son Polemo, as renowned a sophist as ever lived. This person flourished at Smyrna: but was buried here, by the Syrian gate, near which were the sepulchres or coffins of his ancestors.‡ Laodicea, though inland, grew more potent than the cities on the coast, and became one of the largest towns in Phrygia. The other was Apamea Cibotos.

We had crossed the hill, on which Laodicea stood, coming from Denisli. On our approach to it, we had on either hand traces of buildings; and on our right, of a low duct, which has conveyed water. The first ruin was of an amphitheatre, in a hollow, the form oblong, the area about one

† Strabo, p. 578. ‡ Philostratus, p. 543.

thousand feet in extent, with many seats remaining. At the west end is a wide vaulted passage, designed for the horses and chariots; about one hundred and forty feet long. The entrance from without is choked up, except a small aperture, at which a glimmering light enters; and the soil has risen above the imposts of the interior arch. This has an inscription on the mouldings, in large characters, in Greek, which may be thus translated, "To the emperor Titus Cæsar Augustus Vespasian, seven times consul, son of the emperor the god Vespasian; and to the people. Nicostratus the younger son of Lycius, son of Nicostratus, dedicated at his own expense; Nicostratus, his heir having completed what remained of the work, and Marcus Ulpian Trajanus the proconsul having consecrated it."* The seventh consulate of Vespasian falls on the seventy-ninth year of the Christian era, and the consulship of Trajan on the eighty-second. Twelve years were consumed in perfecting the structure.

By another ruin is a pedestal, with an inscription, which will illustrate that on the arch. It relates to the same family, and to the two benefactors. "The senate and people have honoured Tatia, daughter of Nicostratus, son of Pericles, a new heroine, both on account of the magistracies, and ministries, and public works of her father, and on account of her great uncle Nicostratus, who lately, besides his other benefactions, was priest of the city, and changed the stadium into an amphitheatre."† The city increasing, the stadium, it should seem, was not sufficiently capacious; but Nicostratus enlarged, or lengthened it, and converted it into an amphi-

* Inscript. Ant. p. 30. † Ib. p. 31.

theatre, like that at Nysa. A structure of so vast a circumference, when filled with the Laodiceans sitting in rows, must itself have been a very glorious and striking spectacle.

On the north side of the amphitheatre, toward the east end, is the ruin of a most ample edifice. It consists of many piers and arches of stone, with pedestals and marble fragments. At the west end lies a large stone, with an inscription; the city or people "has erected Ased, a man of sanctity and piety, and recorder for life, on account of his services to his country." This fabric was perhaps the repository of the laws, and contained the senate-house, the money-exchange, and public offices. It has been remarked, that the waters of Laodicea, though drinkable, had a petrifying quality; and, at the east end of this ruin, is a mass of incrustation, formed by the current, which was conveyed to it in earthen pipes, by the duct before mentioned.

From this ruin you see the odéum, which fronted southward. The seats remain in the side of the hill. The materials of the front lie in a confused heap. The whole was of marble. Sculpture had been lavished on it, and the style savoured less of Grecian taste than Roman magnificence.

Beyond the odéum are some marble arches standing, with pieces of massive wall; the ruin, as we conjectured, of a gymnasium. This fabric, with one at a small distance, appeared to have been re-edified, probably after an earthquake, to which calamity Laodicea was remarkably subject. Westward from it are three marble arches crossing a dry valley, as a bridge. Many traces of the city-wall may be seen, with broken columns and pieces of marble used in its later repairs. Within, the whole surface is strewn with pedestals and fragments. The luxury of the citizens may be inferred

from their other sumptuous buildings, and from two capacious theatres in the side of the hill, fronting northward and westward; each with its seats still rising in numerous rows one above another. The travellers in 1705 found a maimed statue at the entrance of the former, and on one of the seats the word ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ of *Zeno*.

The hill of Laodicea consists of dry, impalpable soil, porous, with many cavities, resembling the bore of a pipe; as may be seen on the sides, which are bare. It resounded beneath our horses feet. The stones are mostly masses of pebbles, or of gravel consolidated, and as light as pumice-stone. We had occasion to dig, and found the earth as hard as any cement. Beneath, on the north, are stone coffins, broken, subverted, or sunk in the ground.

The two streams, which united by our tent, were the Lycus and the Caprus. The Lycus flows from a mountain called Cadmus, above Laodicea, or to the east. It is seen in the plain, north of the hill, and was now shallow, and about two yards over. After its junction with the Caprus, on the north-west, it becomes a sizeable river. The Caprus* descends on the west, through a narrow valley, in which are four tall piers of a bridge once crossing it, and leading to a gate of the city. These rivers are represented on medals. The Asopus, which ran on the opposite side, was dry. Laodicea, with Colosse, its neighbour, was enriched by sheep, which produced fleeces exceeding Milesian in softness, and the jetty raven in colour. The river Xanthus, or Scamander, was supposed the author

* Called Giumiskioi. The rivulet washing the eastern side of the hill, called Hosolour. The Lycus, which flows not far off in the plain beneath, called Dick-boumz. *Picenini*.

of the yellow hue observable in the Troad. This region was said to be indebted to the Lycus. The breed perhaps has been neglected. Some shepherds came with their flocks to the ruins, and in the evening to the water by our tent. I remarked only one or two, which were very black and glossy.

Laodicea was often damaged by earthquakes, and restored by its own opulence, or by the munificence of the Roman emperors. These resources failed, and the city, it is probable, became early a scene of ruin. About the year 1097 it was possessed by the Turks, and submitted to Ducas, general of the emperor Alexis. In 1120 the Turks sacked some of the cities of Phrygia, by the Mæander, but were defeated by the emperor John Comnenus, who took Laodicea, and built anew, or repaired the walls. About 1161 it was again unfortified. Many of the inhabitants were then killed, with their bishop, or carried with their cattle into captivity by the Turks. In 1190, the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, going by Laodicea with his army toward Syria on a crusade, was received so kindly, that he prayed on his knees for the prosperity of the people. About 1196, this region, with Caria, was dreadfully ravaged by the Turks. The sultan, on the invasion of the Tartars in 1255, gave Laodicea to the Romans; but they were unable to defend it, and it soon returned to the Turks. We saw no traces either of houses, churches, or mosques. All was silence and solitude. Several strings of camels passed eastward over the hill; but a fox, which we first discovered by his ears, peeping over a brow, was the only inhabitant of Laodicea.

CHAP. LXVIII.

We set out for Pambouk, or Hierapolis—Stopped—Behaviour of an aga—The cliff, &c.—Quality of the soil about the Mæander—Hot waters of Hierapolis—Another cliff—Poetical account of the cliff.

A PORTION of Messogis, opposite to Laodicea, appears as a white lofty cliff. We supposed it to be chalk. Pambouk, or the ruined city Hierapolis,* which we could see, is seated upon it, beneath the summits of the mountain. The distance was one hour and a half, north-north-eastward. The aga, with whom we had lately been embroiled, told the janizary, that he commanded at Pambouk, the aga of the district being absent, and that we had nothing to fear there, as we were under his protection. We relied on his assurances, and left Laodicea, on the 30th of April, in the afternoon; crossing the plain toward Pambouk.

We passed the Lycus on the west of Laodicea, near an ordinary bridge, and, in about three quarters of an hour, the Mæander; which here had two beams laid across it, with planks; the water deep in its bed, muddy, as usual, and rapid. Some men, who were digging a trench in the plain, left off, and waited our approach. They were headed by a chiaush, or *the messenger* of an aga, who commanded in a small village to the west of Pambouk. He stopped us at a narrow pass, seizing the bridles of the horses which were fore-

* Laodicea was six miles from Hierapolis. *Antonin. Itin.*

most. Our janizary galloped up, and interposing, was informed the aga insisted on *bac-shish*.

We rode on to Pambouk, and, while our tent was pitching, the janizary went to the aga with our *firhman*, and a present of coffee and sugar. He was civilly received, the aga commiserating our late ill usage, of which he had heard, and complaining, that the same person had extorted from him an extravagant ransom for a stray beast; saying, he was a man of a bad character, of an imperious temper, and, from his superior power, the tyrant of that country: He demanded five okes of coffee; and some other claims were made for his officers, amounting in the whole to ten okes, for which money was accepted. He declared we had no danger to apprehend by day at Pambouk, but recommended our leaving the ruins early in the evening. We enjoyed by anticipation the security he foretold.

Our tent stood on a green dry spot beneath the cliff. The view before us was so marvellous, that the description of it, to bear even a faint resemblance, ought to appear romantic. The vast slope, which, at a distance, we had taken for chalk, was now beheld with wonder, it seeming an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water at once fixed, or in its headlong course suddenly petrified. Round about us were many high, bare, stony ridges; and close by our tent, one with a wide basis, and a slender rill of water, clear, soft, and warm, running in a small channel on the top. A woman was washing linen in it, with a child at her back; and beyond were cabins of the Turcomans, standing distinct, much neater than any we had seen; each with poultry feeding, and a fence of reeds in front.

It is an old observation, that the country about the Mæan-

der, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing underground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain, or in the mud of the river: and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottos, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and, serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of the mountains perhaps has burned. It may be suspected, that the surface of the country has, in some places, been formed from its own bowels; and in particular, it seems probable, that the hill of Laodicea was originally an irruption.

The hot waters of Hierapolis have produced that most extraordinary phenomenon, the cliff, which is one entire incrustation. They were anciently renowned for this species of transformation.* It is related, they changed so easily, that being conducted about the vineyards and gardens, the channels became long fences, each a single stone. They produced the ridges by our tent. The road up to the ruins, which appears as a wide and high causey, is a petrification; and over-

* See Strabo, p. 629. 437. Pausanias, p. 241. Vitruvius, l. 8. c. 3. Ulpian *Pandect*, l. 43.

looks many green spots, once vineyards and gardens, separated by partitions of the same material. The surface of the flat, above the cliff, is rough with stone and with channels, branching out in various directions; a large pool overflowing and feeding the numerous rills, some of which spread over the slope, as they descend, and give to the white stony bed a humid look, resembling salt or driven snow, when melting. This crust, which has no taste or smell, being an alkaline, will ferment with acids; and Picenini relates, that trial of it has been made with spirit of vitriol. The waters, though hot, were used in agriculture.

Tamerlane, when he invaded this country, encamped for the summer at Tangúzlik, where many of his men were destroyed by drinking of a spring, which stagnated and petrified. I should have supposed that place to have been Hierapolis; but other hot waters, with a similar cliff, will be mentioned in a following chapter. The Turkish name Pambouk signifies *cotton*, and, it has been said, refers to the whiteness of the incrustation.

The shepherd-poet of Smyrna, after mentioning a cave in Phrygia sacred to the nymphs, relates, that there Luna had once descended from the sky to Endymion, while he was sleeping by his herds; that marks of their bed were then extant under the oaks; and that in the thickets around it the milk of cows had been spilt, which men still beheld with admiration; for, such was the appearance, if you saw it very far off; but, that from thence flowed clear or warm water, which in a little while concreted round about the channels, and formed a stone pavement.‡ The writer de-

‡ Q. Smyrnaeus, l. v. 128.

scribes the cliff of Hierapolis, if I mistake not, as in his time, and has added a local story, current when he lived. It was the genius of the people to unite fiction with truth ; and, as in this and other instances, to dignify the tales of their mythology with fabulous evidence, taken from the natural wonders, in which their country abounded.

CHAP. LXIX.

Remains of Hierapolis—The theatre—Ancient manner of sitting—Use of the hot waters—The pool—The Plutonium—Our disappointment.

WE ascended in the morning to the ruins, which are on a flat, passing by sepulchres with inscriptions, and entering the city from the east. We had soon the theatre on our right hand, and the pool between us and the cliff. Opposite to it, near the margin of the cliff, is the remain of an amazing structure, once perhaps baths, or as we conjectured, a gymnasium ; the huge vaults of the roof striking horror as we rode underneath. Beyond it is the mean ruin of a modern fortress ; and, farther on, are massive walls of edifices, several of them leaning from their perpendicular, the stones distorted, and seeming every moment ready to fall, the effects and evidences of violent and repeated earthquakes. In a recess of the mountain, on the right hand, is the area of a stadium. Then again sepulchres succeed, some nearly buried in the mountain-side, and one, a square building, with an inscription in large letters. All these remains are plain, and of the

stone created by the waters. The site has been computed about two hundred paces wide, and a mile in length.

After taking a general survey, we returned to the theatre, intending to copy inscriptions and examine more particularly, as we changed our station. We found this a very large and sumptuous structure, and the least ruined of any we had seen. Part of the front is standing. In the heap, which lies in confusion, are many sculptures well executed in basso-relievo; with pieces of architrave inscribed, but disjointed; or so encumbered with massive marbles, that we could collect from them no information. The character is large and bold, with ligatures. The marble seats are still unremoved. The numerous ranges are divided by a low semicircular wall, near mid-way, with inscriptions on the face of it, but mostly illegible. I copied a short, but imperfect one, in which Apollo Archegetes of *The Leader* is requested to be propitious. In another compartment, mention is made of the city by its name Hierapolis; and on a third is an encomium in verse,* which may be thus translated, "Hail golden city Hierapolis; the spot to be preferred before any in wide Asis; revered for the rills of the nymphs; adorned with splendour."—The nymphs presided over springs and fountains.

The reader may recollect some other theatres and a stadium, in which many of the seats remained in their places, and entire. After attentively viewing them, and considering their height, width, and manner of arrangement, I am inclined to believe that the ancient Asiatics sate at their plays and public spectacles, like the modern, with their legs crossed, or gathered under them; and, it is probable, upon carpets.

* Inscript. Ant. p. 52.

The waters of Hierapolis were surprisingly attempted for tinging wool with a colour from roots rivalling the more costly purples; and were a principal source of the riches of the place. The company of dyers is mentioned in the inscription,* on the square building among the sepulchres. That heroum, or monument, was to be crowned by them with garlands or festoons of flowers. The springs flowed so copiously, that the city was full of spontaneous baths, and Apollo, the tutelar deity of the Hierapolitans, with Æsculapius and Hygiæa, on their medals, bear witness to the medicinal virtues which they possess. The people, in some of their inscriptions, are styled *the most splendid*, and the senate *the most powerful*.

The pool before the theatre has been a bath, and marble fragments are visible at the bottom of the water, which is perfectly transparent, and of a briny taste. The women of the aga, after bathing in it, came to the theatre, where we were employed, to see us, with their faces muffled. They were succeeded by the aga, with several attendants. He was a young man of good deportment and uncommon affability. He discoursed with our janizary, sitting cross-legged, on the ruins, smoking and drinking coffee; and expressed his regret, that no water fit to drink could be discovered there; wishing, if we possessed the knowledge of any from our books, we would communicate it to him; saying, it would be a benefit, for which all future travellers should experience his gratitude.

Hierapolis was noted, besides its hot waters, for a Plutonium.† This was an opening in a small brow of the adjacent

* Inscript. Ant. p. 31.

† Strabo, p. 629. See Casaubon on the passage. Comment, p. 232.

mountain, capable of admitting a man, and very deep, with a square fence before it, inclosing about half an acre ; which space was filled with black thick mist, so that the bottom could be scarcely discerned. The air, to those who approached it, was innocent on the outside of the fence, being clear of the mist in serene weather ; it remaining then within the boundary ; but there death abode. Bulls, as at Nysa, dropt down, and were dragged forth without life ; and some sparrows, which Strabo let fly, instantly fell senseless. But eunuchs, the priests of *Magna Mater*, or *Cybele*, could go in quite to the aperture, lean forward, or enter it unharmed ; but they held their breath, as their visages testified, and sometimes until in danger of suffocation. Strabo, the relater, was in doubt, whether all eunuchs could do this, or only they of the temple ; and whether they were preserved by divine Providence, as in cases of enthusiasm, or were possessed of some powerful antidotes. But it is likely this mist was the condensed steam of the hot waters,† made noxious by the qualities of the soil ; and that the whole secret of the priests consisted in carrying their faces high in the air, as another spectator has observed they always did ; and in avoiding respiration when they stooped. I had hoped the description of this spot would have enabled me to find it, but I searched about for it unsuccessfully.

We descended to our tent at the approach of evening, by a steep track down the cliff, beginning beyond the pool, in which we also bathed with pleasure, on the side next the gymnasium. Our way was often rough and slippery, resembling ice, and our horses with difficulty preserved their

† Pausanias, p. 152.

footing. When arrived at our tent I renewed my inquiries for the Plutonium, and an old Turk, with a beard as white as snow, told me, he knew the place, that it was often fatal to their goats; and, accounting for the effect, said, it was believed to be the habitation of a demon, or evil spirit. We ascended again early in the morning to the theatre, where he had promised to join us; and a live fowl was intended to be the martyr of experiment. But we met this day with some unexpected interruption, which made us leave Hierapolis in haste, as will be related in a subsequent chapter.

CHAP. LXX.

Of Collosæ and the Lycus—Rise of the Mæander and the Marsyas—Celæne—Apamea Cibotos—Course of the Mæander—Apamea subject to earthquakes—Route of Xerxes into Lydia.

It had been my intention to extend our journey eastward to the sources of the Mæander. We were prevented from advancing farther than Laodicea and Hierapolis. I shall therefore endeavour to supply the deficiency, by giving as clear an account, as I can, of the ancient geography of that region, which has been much perplexed.

Among the smaller places in Phrygia, lying round Laodicea and Apamea, was Colossæ, once a large and populous city; where the Lycus, entering a chasm in the ground, disappeared for at most five stadia, or above half a mile; after which it re-emerged, and pursued its way by Laodicea to

the Mæander.* The Lycus rose on Mount Cadmus, as did also another stream of the same name as the mountain.

Beyond Colossæ was a summit, and once a city, named Celænæ;† above which was a lake, where the reed grew, which was used as the tongue or mouth-piece of the aulos or flute, and where they fabled of Olympus, and of Marsyas, and his contest with Apollo. This lake was the reservoir or head of the Mæander and of the Marsyas,‡ both which rose below it, separate, and were revered by all the Phrygians in those parts, who sacrificed to them, singly or jointly; calling on the river-god, to whom they offered, and throwing the thighs of the victims into the source; when the present was carried underground by the eddy, and given, as they said, to the stream for which it was designed; or if intended for both, divided; neither current invading the property of its neighbour.

Celænæ, a large and flourishing city at the sources of the two rivers below the lake, was the capital of Phrygia. The *Great King* or emperor of Persia, had a strong place beneath the citadel, by the springs of the Marsyas, which rose in the market-place, not less in size than the Mæander, and flowed through the city. Cyrus the younger, had also a place there, but by the springs of the Mæander, which river passed likewise through the city. He had, moreover, an extensive paradise or park, full of wild beasts, which he hunted on horseback for exercise or amusement; and watered by

* Herodotus, l. 7. c. 30. Strabo, p. 576.

† Strabo, p. 578. See Comment, p. 221.

‡ The Marsyas was the river next Caria, as appears from the action mentioned in chap. lviii. The Carians were assembled by the Marsyas, and one of the leaders advised passing the Mæander, and fighting with that river in the rear.

the Mæander, which ran through the middle. Xerxes was said to have built these palaces and the citadel after his return from his expedition into Greece.

Antiochus Soter removed the inhabitants of Celænæ into a city, which he named from his mother, Apamea; and which became afterwards a mart inferior only to Ephesus. It was seated on a root of Mount Signia, and surrounded by the Marsyas, Obrimas, and Orgas. The stream of the Marsyas was hid, not far from its rise, in a vale called Auloçrene; the scene, it was fabled of the contest with Apollo, ten miles from Apamea on the way into Phrygia. It flowed through the middle of this city, which was near its mouth; and pouring down into the suburb with a vehement precipitate current, the stream twenty-five feet wide, and without windings, joined the Mæander; which having before received the Orgas, passed through the plain, mild and gentle. The springs of the Obrimas, which ran likewise into the Mæander, were on the borders of Pisidia. The Marsyas has been styled the most transparent river of Phrygia; and, *The Cataract*, from its falling down the rock with a mighty noise.*

The Mæander, augmented by the three rivers, after wandering through the Apamene plain, proceeded larger and deeper, with many windings from the pastures of Phrygia, into the vine-clad province of the Carians; which it divided from Lydia near the plain properly called *The Maandrian*, where the bed was crooked in an uncommon degree. This, or the upper Caria, ending, it flowed quietly into that of the Ionians, increased by the accession of numerous streams; and,

* Strabo, p. 577. See Comment. Pliny, l. 5. c. 29. Claudian in Eutrop. l. 2. v. 264. Q. Smyræus à v. 283. Ovid Metam. l. 8. Pausanias, p. 28.

after visiting many towns, and fertilizing with its slime the fair plains, smoothly entered the sea ; which perhaps once washed the foot both of Celænæ and of Signia. The river was navigable a considerable way above the mouth, and one Melesander is recorded as having gone on it with his ships into the Upper Caria. Its cels were much prized by the ancient epicures ; and its banks were remarkably clothed with tamarisks.

The people of Apamea, though inland, were worshippers of Neptune. The reason, it has been conjectured, was, that they had suffered often from earthquakes, of which he was supposed the author. Mithridates gave a hundred talents toward the restoration of the city ; which, it is said, had likewise been overthrown in the time of Alexander. Their tribute-money was remitted to them for five years on the same account, under the emperor Tiberius. The subterraneous passage of the Lycus, and the other streams, shewed that the ground had many cavities ; and these, it has been surmised, rendered the region very liable to be shaken. Between Laodicea and Apamea was a muddy lake of salt water, which had a private vent : and the name Celænæ had been interpreted to denote the colour of the stones, and the blackness occasioned by fiery eruptions.*

Xerxes on his expedition into Greece, came by Celænæ and the salt lake, to Colossæ and Cydrary, where was the boundary of the Lydians and Phrygians. He then entered Lydia,

* Strabo, p. 579. The reader, if curious concerning the Apamean medals treated of by the author of an *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, may receive satisfaction from consulting *Museum C. Albani*, v. 1, pl. 49. p. 99. and *Museum Florentium*, v. 4, pl. 76, and v. 6, p. 149.

and the road dividing, the left branch leading into Caria, the right toward Sardes, took the latter; on which it was necessary to pass the Mæander. Laodicea did not then exist, but, it is probable, he marched by the site, as his route to Sardes appears to have been nearly the same with that which we shall pursue, after leaving Hierapolis, and recovering the main road from Laodicea westward.

CHAP. LXXI.

Picenini's journey to Chonos—To Pambouk—Pococke's journey to Chonos—Remarks—Pococke's journey continued—Dinglar, Apamea—Ishecleh, Celæna.

THE reader may be introduced to a farther knowledge of the region, which is the subject of the preceding chapter, by an extract from the diary of Picenini, and from the travels of an author, by whom its ancient geography is greatly mistaken.

Picenini, with his companions, set out from Laodicea, and proceeded two hours, when they passed through a pleasant wood of tall trees; and, after three hours more, came to a village called Chonos, which has been supposed Colossæ. It stands under a very high and almost inaccessible hill, the cottages on the steep or acclivity, from which they had a view over the plain from the east to the south-west. Here they found the Greeks ignorant of their own language. Their church, which was in the castle on the hill, resembled a wine-vault. Their papas or priest was of Cyprus, and had the care of about forty families, of the same progeny as the Turks.

Leaving this place at ten in the morning, and passing a river, they saw soon after, for the space of a mile, pieces of columns, ruined inscriptions, and other remains; and also, several irregular winding channels, with a current, as they conjectured, of mineral water. Then directing their course more to the west, in three hours they came to a river and a plane-tree; and, going on, in less than an hour and a half had Pambouk in view on their right hand.

Pococke set out from Denesli, and, going to the north-east, passed by a large stream called Sultan Emir, which he supposes the Cadmus, running near that corner of the mountains, from which the hills of Laodicea begin, and falling into the Lycas about a league to the east of that place. He crossed this river at a bridge by an old khan, called Accan, well-built, of white marble from some ancient ruin. Mount Cadmus turns here to the east, and continues about six miles. At the northern foot of it is a rock, where Soley Bey commonly resided, and had eleven pieces of cannon for his defence; and a village underneath, which is that supposed to be Colossæ. All over the plain were small channels for water, then dry, incrustated like those of Pambouk.

Chinos seems to have had the same affinity with Colossæ as Denesli with Laodicea: a papas or priest at Philadelphia informed me there were about two hundred Greek families. The river, which Picenini passed on leaving Chonos, was probably the Lycus; and the ruins, which succeeded, the remains of Colossæ. The other river must have been the Mæander. Pococke does not distinguish between Chonos and Colossæ. He has mistaken the Lycas for Cadmus; and the Mæander, as several other travellers have done, for the Lycus.

Pococke continued his journey eastward from Chonos; when a little farther on, the hills ran for about two leagues to the north, and then turning toward the east again, were the southern boundary of a fine vale about one league wide, and four long. On the south side of these hills are waters, like those of Hierapolis, incrusting the slope with a white petrification; and on the opposite side are other hot waters. He came to the foot of the high hills on the north of this vale, where was an encampment of Turcomans, and crossed over the woody mountain to the north-east to a village, where he passed the night. He went on in this small plain, which leads on the north-west into the great plains of the Mæander, where the river runs along on the west-side for about twelve miles, and then goes in between the hills. He describes the Mæander as running to the west, at the distance of eight miles from the north end of the plain, and as turning south from near the west side.

We are now, with Pococke, not far from the junction of the Marsyas with the Mæander; for he mentions a plain uniting with this and extending to the east, about two leagues wide and four long, with a high hill and a village called Dinglar at the east end, where he was told a river rises, and falls down a hill from a lake at the top; and where, as he was informed, are ruins. Dinglar, if I mistake not, was Apamea; which place, it is to be noted, was on the way from Laodicea to the east. There was *The Cataract* of the river Marsyas, which rose some miles distant on the road leading to Phrygia.

Pococke went on, over the Mæander, where it crosses the large plain, to a village on the north side; and the next day, after travelling eight miles, came to a town, called Ishecleh,

under the hills, which are at the north end of the plain; beneath one, which is very high and steep, and has on it some remains of an ancient fortress. In the town were many pieces of pillars, and wrought stones, and imperfect inscriptions; but it is most remarkable for its delightful situation at the sources of a river now called Ochiese, which rises at the foot of the mountain in eight or nine streams. Some of these are large, and very clear; and all, he relates, soon unite, and run through the plain into the Mæander. He supposes the two rivers at Ishecleh and Dinglar to be fourteen miles apart. The plain between the two places, of which the former was once, I think, evidently Celænæ, is bounded to the north and south by high hills. This, it seems, was Aulocrene. In it is a river called Bourabasha, which falls into the Mæander, and is by Pococke supposed to be the Orgas.

CHAP. LXXII.

We are embroiled at Hierapolis—Retire to our tent—Fly—Ford the Mæander—Our conâc, or resting-place—Booths of the Turcomans—Ruins of Tripolis—Its history—Arrive at Bullada.

WE are now to relate the occasion of our sudden departure from Hierapolis. While we were busy at the theatre, the aga of a village eastward came to bathe with a considerable retinue, and two of his men summoned our janizary to appear before him. He was sitting beneath a wall, in the shade of the large ruin; and among the Turks with him were a couple, whom we had treated on the preceding day with coffee. He alleged, that we had knowledge of hidden

treasure, and had already filled with it the provision chests, which he had seen by our tent; and demanded one of them as his share. He treated the janizary as mocking him, when he endeavoured to explain the nature of our errand, and the manner in which we had been employed. The janizary returned to us, exclaiming, as at Eski-hissar, that we were among rebels and robbers; that neither equity, our firman, or the grand seignior would avail us; that, unless we would repent too late, it behoved us to hasten away. He was prevailed on, however, to remonstrate again; but the aga insisted on his claim with threatenings, if we did not speedily comply.

It seemed an exorbitant sum would be requisite to glut this extortioner and his dependants; and, if he were gratified, we might still expect other agas to follow his example, and be harassed until we were quite stripped of our money. The dispute growing very serious, we were apprehensive of immediate violence; and it was deemed prudent to retire by the causeway to our tent. At the same time, his two men, who had tarried by us, mounted their horses with visible chagrin, and rode off, as was surmised, to the village with orders.

On our arrival at the tent we held a consultation, when the janizary warmly urged the peril of our present situation; that the frontier of the Cuthayan* Pashalike, in which we were, was inhabited by a lawless and desperate people, who committed often the most daring outrages with impunity. He recommended the regaining, as fast as possible, the Pashalike of Guzeli-hissar. It was indeed the general desire, that we might remove from a region, in which we had already experi-

* Cuthaya, anciently Cotacium in Phrygia.

enced so much solicitude, and where our safety for a moment was deemed precarious. Our men were alert in striking the tent, and loading our baggage; and at nine in the morning we fled from Pambouk, under the conduct of our janizary.

We forded the Mæander by a wooden bridge for foot passengers, with the water up to the bellies of our horses. We rode through a court before the house of the aga, with whom we had first treated, and saw there some marble fragments, probably removed from the adjacent ruins. The village is exceedingly mean and small.

Keeping up the plain to recover the road from Laodicea westward, we had on our left a narrow and deep water-course. The stream, at an over-shot mill, was turned from its channel, and permitted at intervals to run into the corn fields. The rills also from the mountain were conducted into lands recently ploughed, on which cranes were stalking to devour insects or reptiles, distressed by the moisture. We hurried on, apprehensive of being pursued, until we were opposite the snowy summit, beneath which we had pitched our tent, going to Denisli. We found there a company of Turks, and alighted to dine near them under some trees, which grow by a fountain. These repasts were usually followed by sleep on a carpet in the shade.

The travellers, with whom our men conversed, informed them, that the Turcomans, encamped in the plain on the other side of the Mæander, had very lately plundered some caravans, and cut off the heads of the people who opposed them. We disliked this intelligence, and set out again after two hours, fearing we might be benighted among them. Leaving the road to Magnesia on the left hand, we came in half an hour to a crazy wooden bridge, over a rapid stream,

telling, lower down, into the Mæander. This river had also a wooden bridge on piles which we crossed ; with one of stone, in view, higher up, consisting of a single arch. The plain was here very wide and smooth, and covered with the black booths of the Turcomans. Our janizary appeared as one half frantic, if he saw any one of the company straggling, or loitering on the way. We pushed briskly through, and then travelled westward in a green and pleasant recess of the mountain Messogis.

On entering the recess, we had on our right hand, at a distance, the ruins of Tripolis. Smith* relates, that he saw there only huge stones, lying confusedly in heaps, besides vestiges of a theatre and of a castle. We could plainly discern the naked site of the former on the slope of Messogis, and beneath it masses of wall, remnants of the fortress. About half an hour to the west is a flourishing town or village. A stream, of which we had a distinct view from the mountains the next morning, winds not far off in the plain, and has been mistaken by several travellers for the Mæander. Smith forded it near Tripolis, in his way to Pambouk, where he arrived about four hours after.

Tripolis is the place, where St. Bartholomew taught, and St. Philip is said to have suffered martyrdom. It was afterwards the see of a bishop. John Ducas, the second emperor of Nice, had an interview there with the Turkish sultan in 1244. It was enlarged and fortified for a bulwark to cover Philadelphia. In 1306 it was in the possession of the Turks, who had besieged and taken it by stratagem ; and Alisuras made from it his incursions into the empire. It is not men-

* Survey of the Seven Churches, p. 245.

tioned by Strabo; but in the Antonine Itinerary is placed twelve miles from Hierapolis, and thirty-three from Philadelphia; and, in Peutinger's Table, from Tralles fifteen.

We rode on by fine crops of barley, with a large water-course on our left hand; and, after nine hours, arrived in the dusk of evening at Bullada, a Turkish town; the houses numerous and scattered on slopes, with a bridge crossing the bed of a torrent, then dry. We were lodged in a new khan, small, but unusually neat; and from the windows, in the morning, had an extensive view over the plain. We could see part of the white cliff of Hierapolis. On inquiry, we found that we were now only a journey of about four days from Smyrna, going the direct road; and were assured, that the plague raged there with uncommon fury.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Our mode of living—Mount Tmolus—The region named Catakekaumene—The river Hermus—We arrive at Ala-shahir, or Philadelphia.

OUR mode of living in this tour had been more rough than can well be described. We had endeavoured to avoid, as much as possible, communicating with the people of the country; and had commonly pitched our tent by some well, brook, or fountain, near a village; where we could purchase eggs, fowls, a lamb or kid, rice, fruits, wine, rakı or white brandy, and the like necessaries: with bread, which was often gritty, and of the most ordinary kind. We had seldom pulled off our clothes at night: sleeping sometimes with our

boots and hats on, as by day ; a portmanteau or large stone serving instead of pillow or bolster. But one consideration had softened the sensations of fatigue, and sweetened all our hardships. It was the comfortable reflection, that we enjoyed our liberty, and were, as we conceived, at a distance from the plague ; but now we were about to lose that satisfaction, and at every stage to approach nearer to the seat of infection.

We had agreed to visit Ala-shahir,* or Philadelphia ; and, setting out in the morning, ascended the mountain, which is Messogis, and turned to the north-west, through a cultivated tract, the way good, to hills green with flowering shrubs, and in particular with Labdanum. The air partook of their fragranc y, and dispensed to us the sweet odours of Mount Tmolus. The manner of gathering the gum from the leaves, with the whip or instrument made use of, is described by Tournefort. After five hours we alighted, and dined beneath a tree by a well. We then entered a deep narrow track, and came in two hours more to a village, and pitched our tent on a dry spot ; with an old castle on the mountain on our left hand, and before us an extensive plain, in which the river Hermus runs.

This region, which is above, or to the east of Philadelphia, was called Catakekaumene, or *The Burned*. By some it was reckoned in Mysia, by others in Mæonia, or Lydia. It was five hundred stadia, or sixty-two miles and a half long, and four hundred stadia, or fifty miles broad ; and anciently bare of trees, but covered with vines, which produced the wine called by its name, and esteemed not inferior to any in good-

* Allahscheyr, *The City of God*.

ness. The surface of the plain, which is now turf, was then spread with ashes; and the range of mountains was stony and black, as from a conflagration, which some, who fabled that Typho was destroyed there, supposed to have been occasioned by lightning; but earth-born fire was concerned, instead of the giant and Jupiter. This was evident from three pits, which they called *Physæ*, or *The Bellows*, distant from each other about forty stadia, or five miles, with rough hills above them, formed, it was believed, by cinders from their volcanoes. The wits of old, observing such places peculiarly fertile in vines, affirmed, alluding to the story of Semele, it was no fiction that Bacchus was begotten by fire.*

The river Hermus, which divides this plain, began near Dorylæum, a city of Phrygia; rising on the mountain Dindymus, which was sacred to Cybele, the mother of the gods. From this region it flowed into the Sardian, and received the Phrygius, which separated Phrygia from Caria; and also many other streams from Mysia and Lydia, in its way to the sea.

In the morning we descended from the mountain, and winding toward the left, soon after met a cow laden with the dwelling, the goods, and chattels of a Turcoman family; a very grotesque and risible figure. A woman followed, trudging on foot, with a child at her back, her naked breasts hanging down before her. In half an hour we crossed a stream rising near, and running eastward; and then passed by a spot, where a number of the Turcomans were loading their camels, and busied in removing their booths, their wives, children, and cattle. The plain was cultivated. We entered the ca-

* Strabo, p. 576. 626. 628.

ravan road from Angora to Smyrna, when our course became west, with Mount Tmolus on our left hand ; and arrived, in three hours and a half, at Ala-shahir.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Of Philadelphia—Its modern history—The present town—A mineral spring, and the supposed wall of bones—Disuse of the Greek tongue—Civility of the people—News of the plague—We arrive at Sardes.

ATTALUS Philadelphus, brother of Eumenes, was the founder of Philadelphia, which stood on a root of Mount Tmolus, by the river Cogamus. The frequent earthquakes, which it experienced, were owing to its vicinity with the region called Catakekaumene. Even the city-walls were not secure, but were shaken almost daily, and disparted. The inhabitants lived in perpetual apprehension, and were always employed in repairs. They were few in number, the people residing chiefly in the country, and cultivating the soil, which was fertile.*

John Ducas, the Greek general to whom Laodicea submitted, took Philadelphia with Sardes by assault, in 1097. It was again reduced, about the year 1106, under the same emperor, without difficulty. Two years after, the Turks marched from the East, with a design to plunder it and the maritime cities. In 1175 the emperor Manuel, falling into an ambuscade of the Turks, not far from the sources of the Mæander,

* Strabo, p. 579. 628.

retired to this place. In the division of the conquests of sultan Aladin, in 1300, the inner parts of Phrygia, as far as Cilicia and Philadelphia, fell by lot to Karamân. The town in 1306 was besieged by Alisuras, who took the forts near, and distressed it, but retired on the approach of the Roman army. It is related, that the Philadelphians despised the Turks, having a tradition, that their city had never been taken. The Tripolines requested succour from the general, the Grand Duke Roger; who, after defeating the enemy, returned hither, by the forts of Kula and Turnus, and exacted money. In 1391 Philadelphia singly refused to admit Bajazet; but wanting provisions was forced to capitulate. Cineis, on his reconciliation with Amir, prince of Ionia, drew over to his interest, this place, with Sardes, Nymphéum, and the country as far as the Hermus.

It was anciently matter of surprise, that Philadelphia was not abandoned, and yet it has survived many cities less liable to earthquakes, and continues now a mean, but considerable town, of large extent, spreading up the slopes of three or four hills. Of the wall, which encompassed it, many remnants are standing, but with large gaps. The materials of this fortification are small stones, with strong cement. It is thick and lofty, and has round towers. On the top, at regular distances, were a great number of nests, each as big as a bushel; with the cranes, their owners, by them single, or in pairs. The bed of the Cogamus, which is on the north-east side, was almost dry. The French traveller, Paul Lucas,* has mistaken this place for Laodicea.

Going a little up the Cogamus, between the mountains, in

* Vol. 1. p. 306.

the bank, on the right hand, is a spring of a purgative quality, much esteemed and resorted to in the hot months. It tasted like ink, is clear, and tinges the earth with the colour of ochre. Farther up, beyond the town, on the left hand, is the wall, which, it has been said, was built with human bones, after a massacre, by one of the sultans. That wonder† is nothing more than the remnant of a duct, which has conveyed water of a petrifying quality, as at Laodicea. This incrustated some vegetable substances, which have perished, and left behind, as it were, their moulds. It was now partly fallen, but served as a fence between two corn fields. The whole is much decayed, the pieces easily breaking and crumbling.

The bishop of Philadelphia was absent, but the protopapas or chief priest, his substitute, whom we went to visit, received us at his palace, a title given to a very indifferent house, or rather a cottage, of clay. We found him ignorant of the Greek tongue, and were forced to discourse with him, by an interpreter, in the Turkish language. He had no idea that Philadelphia existed before Christianity, but told us it had become a city in consequence of the many religious foundations. The number of churches he reckoned at twenty four, mostly in ruins, and mere masses of wall decorated with painted saints. Only six are in a better condition, and have their priests. The episcopal church is large, and ornamented with gilding, carving, and holy portraits. The Greeks are about three hundred families, and live in a friendly intercourse with the Turks, of whom they speak well. We were assured that the clergy and laity in general knew as little of

† See Rycant—and Woodward's Catalogue of Foreign Fossils, p. 11.

Greek as the proto-papas ; and yet the liturgies and offices of the church are read as elsewhere, and have undergone no alteration on that account.

The Philadelphians are a civil people. One of the Greeks sent us a small earthen vessel full of choice wine. Some families beneath the trees, by a rill of water, invited us to alight, and partake of their refreshments. They saluted us, when we met ; and the aga, or governor, on hearing that we were Franks, bade us welcome by a messenger.

Philadelphia possessing waters excellent in dying, and being situated on one of the most capital roads to Smyrna, is much frequented, especially by Armenian merchants. The khan, in which we lodged, was very filthy, and full of passengers. Mules arrived almost hourly, and were unladen in the area. As a caravan goes regularly to Smyrna, and returns on stated days, we were uneasy here, and afraid of infection. The accounts now given us of the plague, and of the havock it was making, were such, that the most intrepid person might reasonably shudder with horror and apprehension.

We set out at nine in the morning from Philadelphia for Sardes, distant twenty eight miles, according to the Antonine Itinerary. The way is by the feet of Mount Tmolus, which was on our left ; consisting of uneven, separate, sandy, hills, in a row, green and pleasant, once clothed with vines, but now neglected. Behind them was a high ridge covered with snow. The plain, besides the Hermus, which divides it, is well watered by rills from the slopes. It is wide, beautiful, and cultivated ; but has few villages, being possessed by the Turcomans, who, in this region, were reputed thieves, but not given to bloodshed. Their boothis and cattle were

innumerable. We stopped, after an hour, at a handsome fountain. The cistern was a marble coffin, carved with festoons, and inscribed in Greek "Of Appius." In an old burying-ground near it were marble fragments. We travelled three hours and a half north-westward, and as long westward. We met numerous caravans, chiefly of mules, on the road; or saw them by its side feeding on the green pasture, their burthens lying on the ground; the passengers sitting in groups eating, or sleeping on the grass. We pitched our tent about sunset, and the next day, after riding two hours in the same direction, arrived at Sardes, now called Sart.

CHAP. LXXV.

Of Sardes—Taken by Cyrus—The town burnt by the Ionians—Surrenders to Alexander—Suffers from an earthquake—Its later history—The theatre—A stratagem of Antiochus—Other remains—The hill, and Pactolus—The village—Ruin of a temple—Perhaps of Cybele.

LYDIA was celebrated for its city Sardes, which was of great antiquity, though posterior to the war of Troy.* It was enriched by the fertility of the soil, and had been the capital of the Lydian kings. It was seated on the side of Mount Tmolus, and the citadel was remarkable for its strength. This was on a lofty hill; the back part, or that towards Tmolus, a perpendicular precipice. One of the kings, an ancestor of Cræsus, it is related, believed, that by leading a

* Strabo, p. 625. Herodotus, l. 1.

lion about the wall, he should render the fortress impregnable, and neglected that portion of it as totally inaccessible.

Crœsus, who was tyrant or king of all the nations within the river Halys, engaging Cyrus, who had followed him into Lydia, was defeated in the plain before the city, the Lydian horses not enduring the sight, or smell of the camels. Cyrus then besieged him, and offered a reward for the person, who should first mount the wall. One of his soldiers had seen a Lydian descend for his helmet, which had rolled down the back of the citadel. He tried to ascend there, where not even a centinel was placed, and succeeded. Afterwards the Persian satrapas, or commandant, resided at Sardes, as the emperor did at Susa.

In the time of Darius, the Milesians sailed to Ephesus, and leaving their vessels at Mount Corissus, marched up by the river Cayster, and crossing Mount Tmolus, surprised the city, except the fortress, in which was a numerous garrison. A soldier set fire to one of the houses, which were thatched, and presently the town was in flames. The Ionians retreated to Tmolus, and in the night to their ships.*

The city and fortress surrendered on the approach of Alexander, after the battle of the Granicus. His army encamped by the river Hermus, which was twenty stadia, or two miles and a half distant. He went up to the citadel, which was then fortified with a triple wall, and resolved to erect in it a temple and altar to Jupiter Olympius, on the site of the royal palace of the Lydians.†

Sardes under the Romans was a large city, and not inferior to any of its neighbours, until the terrible earthquake, which

* Herodotus, l. v.

† Arrian, p. 36.

happened in the time of Tiberius Cæsar. Magnesia by Sipylus, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Ephesus, and several more cities partook largely in that calamity; but this place suffered prodigiously, and was much pitied. The munificence of the emperor was nobly exerted to repair the various damages, and Sardes owed its recovery to Tiberius.*

The emperor Julian made Chrysanthius, a Sardian of a senatorial family, pontiff of Lydia.† He attempted to restore the heathen worship; erecting temporary altars at Sardes, where none had been left, and repairing the temples, if any vestiges remained. In the year 400, the Goths, under Tribigild and Caianus, officers in the Roman pay, who had revolted from the emperor Arcadius, plundered the city. In the subsequent troubles in Asia, the natives in general were compelled to retire for safety to the hills and strong holds. At Sardes they permitted the Turks, on an incursion of the Tartars in 1304, to occupy a portion of the citadel—separated by a strong wall with a gate, and afterwards murdered them in their sleep.

The site of this once noble city was now green and flowery. Coming from the east, we had the ground-plot of the theatre at some distance on our left hand, with a small brook near us, running before it. This structure was in a brow, which unites with the hill of the citadel, and was called Prion. Some pieces of the vault, which supported seats, and completed the semicircle, remain.

It was on this side the effort was made, which gave Antiochus possession of Sardes. An officer had observed that vultures and birds of prey gathered there about the offals

* Strabo, p. 579. 627. Tacitus *Ann.* 2 c. 47.

† Eunapius, p. 154.

and dead bodies thrown into the hollow by the besieged, and inferred that the wall, standing on the edge of the precipices, was neglected as secure from any attempt. He scaled it with a resolute party, while Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army and of the enemy by a feint; marching as if he intended to attack the Persian gate. Two thousand soldiers rushed in at the gate opened for them, and took their post at the theatre, when the town was plundered and burned.*

Going on, we passed by remnants of massive buildings; marble piers, sustaining heavy fragments of arches of brick; and more indistinct ruins. These are in the plain, before the hill of the citadel. On our right hand, near the road, was a portion of a large edifice, with a heap of ponderous materials before and behind it. The walls are standing of two large, lofty, and very long rooms, with a space between them, as of a passage. This remain, it has been conjectured, was the house of Cræsus,† once appropriated by the Sardians, as a place of retirement, to superannuated citizens. It was called the Gerusia, and in it, as some Roman authors have remarked, was exemplified the extreme durability of the ancient brick.‡ The walls in this ruin have double arches beneath, and consist chiefly of that material, with layers of stone. The bricks are exceedingly fine and good, of various sizes, some flat, and broad. We employed a man to procure one entire, but the cement proved so very hard and tenacious, it was next to impossible. Both Cræsus and Mausolus, neither of whom could be suspected of parsimony, used them in building their palaces. It was a substance in-

* Polybius, l. 7. c. 4. † See Peyssonnel's Travels.

‡ Vitruvius, l. 2. c. 8. Pliny, l. 35. c. 14.

sensible of decay : and, it is asserted, if the walls were erected true to their perpendicular, would, without violence, last for ever.

The hill, on which the citadel stood, appears from the plain to be triangular. It is sandy, and the sides rough. The fortress is abandoned, but has a double wall, as in 1304, fronting the plain, besides out-works, in ruins.† The eminence affords a fine prospect of the country, and in the walls are two or three fragments with inscriptions. Not far from the west end is the celebrated river Pactolus, which rises in the mountain behind, and once flowed through the middle of the market-place of Sardes in its way to the Hermus, bringing down from Tmolus bits of gold. Herodotus observes, that, except this one and the barrow of Alyattes, Lydia was not remarkable for wonders. The treasures of Cræsus and of his ancestors were collected chiefly from the Pactolus ; but in time that source failed.‡ After snow or rain a torrent descends ; but now the stream was very shallow ; the bed sand or gravel, in colour inclining to a reddish yellow.

Beyond the supposed Gerusia, we turned from the road to the left. We passed the miserable village Sart, which stands, with a ruinous mosque, above the river, on a root or spur of the hill of the citadel, and, crossing the Pactolus, pitched our tent in a flowery meadow. Not far from us were booths of the Turcomans, with their cattle feeding. Some of them joined us, and one or two wanted raki or brandy, but were told we had none. A small gratuity was required for the aga of the village, which was opposite to our tent.

† See a plan and view in Peyssonnel.

‡ Strabo, p. 591. 625.

After resting a while, we were conducted toward Tmolus, and suddenly struck with the view of a ruin of a temple near us, in a most retired situation, beyond the Pactolus ; between the hill of the citadel and the mountain. Five columns are standing, one without the capital ; and one with the capital awry to the south. The architrave was of two stones. A piece remains on one column, but moved southward ; the other part, with the column, which contributed to its support, has fallen since the year 1699. One capital was then distorted, as was imagined by an earthquake ; and over the entrance of the naos, or cell, was a vast stone, which occasioned wonder by what art or power it could be raised. That fair and magnificent portal, as it is styled by the relater,* has since been destroyed ; and in the heap lies that most huge and ponderous marble. Part of one of the Antæ is seen about four feet high. The soil has accumulated round the ruin ; and the bases, with a moiety of each column, are concealed ; except one, which was cleared by Mr. Wood. The number in the front, when entire, was eight. The order is Ionic. The shafts are fluted, and the capitals designed and carved with exquisite taste and skill.

It is impossible to behold, without deep regret, this imperfect remnant of so beautiful and glorious an edifice ; which however is, I believe, unnoticed by the ancient authors now extant. Herodotus mentions a temple dedicated to Cybebe, or Cybele, as damaged in the conflagration of Sardes by the Milesians. The same goddess is invoked in Sophocles† as inhabiting by the great Pactolus, abounding in gold. Cræ-

* Chishull's Travels, p. 16.

† Philoctetes, v. 590.

sus, king of Sardes, contributed to the building of the temple at Ephesus, where a similar mass of marble was placed over the entrance by Metagenes; and if this fabric be not coeval, it was perhaps planned and erected by some of the successors of that bold and enterprising architect.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The road to Ephesus—Of Larissa—The region called Asis—Hypepa—Birghé—The road from Pergamum to Sardes.

IN the preceding chapter we have mentioned an expedition of the Milesians against Sardes. The distance of this city from Ephesus was five hundred and forty stadia, or sixty-seven miles and a half; and the historian, Herodotus, who relates their enterprize, reckons a day's journey one hundred and fifty stadia, or eighteen miles and three quarters. The way to Ephesus was over Tmolus, which is described as a compact mountain, of a moderate extent, having its boundaries in Lydia.

On a summit of Tmolus was a watch-tower erected by the Persians, of which perhaps the ruin is still extant; an Hexedra, or building with six sides or seats, of white marble. From it were beheld the adjacent plains, and in particular that of the Cayster; in which was Larissa, an Ephesian village, once a city; the soil fruitful in vines. There was a temple of Apollo, and Strabo mentions a priest of Jupiter of Larissa as his contemporary, and a man of eminence at Tralles. The site was nearer to Mount Tmolus than to Ephesus, from

which place it was distant one hundred and eighty stadia, or twenty-two miles and a half. It was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters from Nysa, lying above that city ; the way to it through Messogis, probably at the gap beyond Nosli Bazar, and by the temple of Mater Isodrome, or *Cybele of the Plain*. This district, in which the Cayster rises, is likely to afford the curious traveller some ruins, with much pleasure and satisfaction. The Cilbianian plain was contiguous with it eastward, and was large, fertile, and well inhabited.

The tract between the mountains Tmolus and Messogis is a portion of the region named *Asis*, in which was the meadow, mentioned in a preceding chapter. This is celebrated by the ancient poets as the resort of innumerable geese, cranes, and swans. You might hear them, sitting on Tmolus in the spring ; or see them feeding in the grass ; arriving in vast companies, and settling ; or flying away, and making the Cayster and the marsh resound with their noisy clamour.* The marsh is now perhaps dry.

At the foot of Tmolus, descending toward the Caystrian plain was the small town, Hypæpa, where the Persians of Lydia had a temple served by priests called Magi. Pausanias relates,† that he saw there an altar with ashes on it, differing in colour from common ashes ; that the priest entered the cell, and heaped dry wood on the altar ; that he then put the tiara or sacred fillet round his head, and invoked the deity, chanting from a book, in a barbarous language, unintelligible to the Greeks ; when the fuel lighted spontaneously ; and a clear flame was produced. The same won-

* Dionysius *Περικύ.* v. 853.

† P. 176.

der was also performed at Hierocæsarea in Lydia, at the temple dedicated by king Cyrus to the Persian Diana.*

Hypæpa is now called Pyrge, and corruptly, Birghé. It is probable a fortress with towers (Πύργος) was erected there to command the pass of Mount Tmolus, and occasioned the disuse of the old name. Pyrge was one of the places, which suffered from the exactions of the grand duke Roger, general of the Roman armies in 1306. Thither, in 1408, the body of Amir was removed from Ephesus, or Aiasalück, to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors; as in 1422 was that of Mustapha, Atin's grandson, who had been killed in battle by Cineis.† The town has two very handsome mosques.

We shall add here the route to Sardes from the plain of the Caicus and the city Pergamum,‡ which is thus described by Strabo: "On the east is the city Apollonia seated on an eminence; and on the south a ridge of mountains. Passing over this, and going toward Sardes, Thyatira is on the left;

* Tacitus, l. 3. c. 62. On a medal of this place the goddess is represented, with a quiver, the Legend ΠΕΡΣΙΚΗ, or *The Persian*; and on the reverse is an altar, with a fire on it. A very forced explication of this plain Legend is given in the notes on Pliny, l. v. c. 31.

† Modern Univ. History, v. 5. p. 149. 177. The place is here called Pyrga, and fort Pirgion near M. Tmolus. See also p. 187.

‡ In Peutinger's Table.

In the Antonine Itinerary.

Pergamum	- - - - -	—	Pergamum	- - - - -	—
Germe	- - - - -	m. p. 25	Germa	- - - - -	m. p. 25
Thyatira	- - - - -	33	Thyatira	- - - - -	33
Sardes	- - - - -	36	Sardes	- - - - -	33
Philadelphia	- - - - -	30	Philadelphia	- - - - -	28
Tripolis	- - - - -	34	Tripolis	- - - - -	33
Hierapolis	- - - - -	12	Hierapolis	- - - - -	12
From Thyatira to Smyrna	- - - - -	96			
From Sardes to Hypæpa	- - - - -	20			

Pergamum has been reckoned sixty miles north of Smyrna.

and on the right, Apollonis, distant three hundred stadia, or thirty seven miles and a half, both from Pergamum and from Sardes. Then follows the plain of the river Hermus and this city."

CHAP. LXXVII.

Chishull's journey to Birghé—To Tyria—To Ephesus—Account of Tyria.

WE shall give here an abstract of Chishull's journey, in 1699, from Sardes to Ephesus.

The ascent of Tmolus is made easy by windings or traverses. The mountain is pleasant, and garnished with an infinite variety of plants, shrubs, and trees. Besides a fine prospect of the country, the traveller is amused with impending rocks, perpendicular precipices, and the murmurs of a brook, probably the Pactolus. On the top, which he gained in four hours, was a fruitful vale, between two lofty ridges; with a vein of marble as clear and pellucid as alabaster. It was the latter end of April; but snow remained on the summits, and supplied a rapid current descending into the Pactolus. The air was chilled, and vegetation retarded. The trees, which, with a kindlier aspect, were green and flourishing, had not even budded there. After an hour, he entered a stony track, leading down the southern side of Tmolus. This was steep and dangerous, or tedious with windings; but adorned with bright and shining particles resembling gold dust. In five hours he arrived at Birghé.

On the way to Ephesus, our traveller forded the Cayster,

2 Q 2



after three hours, not far from an ancient bridge of three arches, ranging with the bank, and witnessing, that the stream has changed its channel. He then passed on in a fertile and well-cultivated champaign country, between two high and snowy mountains, Tmolus and Messogis, in a region inexpressibly delightful; with frequent villages; and in seven hours came to Tyria, once, it has been supposed, Tyriæum; a populous city mentioned in Xenophon as by the plain of the Cayster.

From Tyria to Ephesus have been reckoned twenty-five miles. The way is in a long, narrow, and almost, deserted vale. He came in seven hours near the end of Gallesus or the *Alemán*, on which is the old castle mentioned in our journey from Smyrna. The Cayster was on his right hand, and there mingled with the Pegasæan lake, which was large and muddy.

The approach to Tyria is by a gentle ascent from the plain. The houses are numerous, with trees and gardens intermixed. It had then about fourteen mosques, one of which was of royal foundation, as the double minarets shewed. The Greeks had two churches. This, when Tamerlane ravaged Antolia in 1402, was one of the principal cities. He marched to it from Aiasalück, forced the inhabitants to pay a ransom, and there was informed of the state of Smyrna. Tyria was in the interest of Cineis, and helped him to recover Ephesus from sultan Solyman.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

We cross the Hermus—At Bazocleu—The Gygaean lake—Its history—The cemetery of the Lydian kings—The barrow of Alyattes—Custom of the Greeks—Remarks on the barrow—The difficulty of examining its contents—Of the ancient Lydians.

BEFORE Sardes, on the opposite side of the plain, are many barrows on an eminence, some of which are seen afar off. We were told, that behind them was a lake; and agreed to visit it. We left Sardes in the afternoon, and repassed Pactolus, farther on; the stream foul and dull. In an hour we came to the banks of the Hermus, which was also muddy, but wide and rapid. We forded with the water up to our girths, and then rode among huts of the Turcomans; their large and fierce dogs barking vehemently, and worrying us. The plain now appeared as bounded with mountains. The view westward was terminated by a single, distinct, lofty range, the east end of Mount Sipylus.

We approached near to the high green ridge, on which the barrows are, and going on beyond its eastern extremity, pitched our tent after three hours by a village called Bazocleu. A continual noise or hooting was made to drive away the small birds, which lodged in the corn. We saw them changing their quarters, as soon as molested, in troops. A large dog had followed our men, who fed him, from Sart.

We were on horseback again at seven in the morning, and going north-westward for half an hour, came to the lake,

which lay behind the ridge, extending westward, and was anciently called Gygæa. It is very large, and abounds in fish, its colour and taste like common pond water, with beds of sedge growing in it. We saw a few swans with cygnets, and many aquatic birds; in particular, one species resembling a gull, flying about in flocks, or lighting on the ground. These were white, but with the whole head black. The air swarmed with gnats.

Some very ancient historians had related, that this lake was made as a receptacle for the floods, which happened when the rivers were swollen. The Lydians asserted it was perennial, or never dry. The name had been changed from Gygæa to Coloe. By it was a temple of Diana, called Coloene, of great sanctity. A story is recorded as current, that on the festivals of the goddess certain baskets danced.* The privilege of an asylum was conferred on it by Alexander.† This probably is the Sardian Diana, mentioned in an inscription copied by Mr. Peyssonnel, and containing a panegyric on her priestess. If the lake be fictitious, the ridge may be regarded as an immense mound raised with the soil.

By Gygæa, which was within forty stadia or five miles of Sardes, is the burying place of the Lydian kings.‡ The barrows are of various sizes, the smaller made perhaps for children of the younger branches of the royal family. Four or five are distinguished by their superior magnitude, and are visible as hills at a great distance. The lake, it is likely, furnished the soil. All of them are covered with green turf; and as many as I observed, in passing among them, retain their conical form without any sinking-in of the top.

* See Strabo, p. 626, 627. † Tacitus Ann. l. 3, c. 63. ‡ Strabo, p. 627.

One of the barrows on the eminence, near the middle, and toward Sardes, is remarkably conspicuous. This has been described by Herodotus,* as beyond comparison the greatest work in Lydia; inferior only to the works of the Egyptians and Babylonians. It was the monument of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus; a vast mound of earth heaped on a basement of large stones by three classes of the people; one of which was composed of girls, who were prostitutes. Alyattes died, after a long reign, in the year 562 before the Christian era. Above a century intervened, but the historian relates, that to his time five stones (*ὑποῖ τεῖνι* or *stela*) on which letters were engraved, had remained on the top, recording what each class had performed; and from the measurement it had appeared, that the greater portion was done by the girls. Strabo likewise has mentioned it as a huge mound raised on a lofty basement by the multitude of the city. The circumference was six stadia or three quarters of a mile; the height two plethra or two hundred feet;† and the width thirteen plethra.

It was customary among the Greeks to place, on barrows, either the image of some animal, or *stela*, commonly round pillars with inscriptions. The famous barrow of the Athenians in the plain of Marathon, described by Pausanias, is

* L. 1. 92.

† In Herodotus, *περίοδος σταδία ἑξ καὶ δύο πλεθρα τοῦ ὅτι ἑκὼς τὴν πλεθρα τριακαίδεκα*. We have supposed *τοῦ ὅτι* wanting in the text after *καὶ δύο πλεθρα*. See Note on the passage.

The pyramid of Chepos, in Egypt, was quadrangular, each side measuring eight plethra, and its height the same. l. 2. c. 124.

The pyramid of Mycerinus, his son, was much smaller, each side measuring three plethra. c. 134.

The pyramid by the Labyrinth was likewise square, each side measuring four plethra, and its height the same. Strabo, p. 811.

an instance of the latter usage. An ancient monument in Italy by the Appian way, called, without reason, the sepulchre of the Curatii has the same number of *termini* as remained on the barrow of Alyattes; the basement, which is square, supporting five round pyramids.

The barrow of Alyattes is much taller and handsomer than any I have seen in England or elsewhere. The industry shewn, in carrying earth for its elevation, was probably excited by the pay which Cræsus offered; for it is not likely, that the sepulchres of a regal family, which possessed immense riches, should be raised by public contribution or gratuitous labour. The mould, which has been washed down, conceals the stone-work, which, it seems, was anciently visible. The apparent altitude is diminished, and the bottom rendered wider and less distinct than before. Its measurements, which we were not prepared to take, deserve to be ascertained and compared with those given by Herodotus.

The barrows contain perhaps a considerable treasure. In this it is well secured. Some time and much labour would be consumed in penetrating to the basement, and afterwards it would be difficult to force a passage through the stone-work. Many men must be employed, and in the present state of the country a large guard would be necessary for their protection. A jealousy already prevails among the people, that strangers are in quest of hidden riches. The Turcomans and the neighbouring agas would not suffer the removal of the plunder, if obtained, without molestation. The enterprize is fitter for the basha of the district, or a general of an army, than for a private adventurer. The first, whether successful or otherwise, would probably be preyed on by his master for the attempt.

The reader, it is likely, will wonder at the great number of girls, which were employed in this work; and will conceive a bad opinion of the morals of the Sardians.

The historian relates, it was the custom of the Lydians to permit their daughters to procure their own dowries; deviating in this from the Greek laws, which were established among them. They were an ingenious people, the inventors of gold and silver coin, of wine-taverns, and of several games in general use. The female Lydians were much admired for the elegance of their dress, the beauty of their persons, and their wonderful performance of a grand, choral, circular dance, in honour of Bacchus.*

CHAP. LXXIX.

We re-gain the road to Magnesia—The weather—At Darguthli—To Mount Sipylus—Of the city Sipylus and Sale—To Magnesia—Of Niobe.

AFTER riding an hour by the side of the calm and noble lake, we turned to the south-west, passing by a fountain with an inscription,† to recover the road from Sardes to Magnesia by Mount Sipylus. We crossed the ridge, and at eleven again forded the Hermus. The stream was very wide, rapid, and turbid. We entered on the road by three barrows, ranging on the side close by each other. We stopped, after two hours more, near a green barrow, at a neat coffee-hut by

* Dionysius, Περὶ γ. v. 840.

† Inscript. Ant. p. 30.

Uran-lui, four hours from Sardes. Our dog, which we had named Sart, here very wisely forsook us, and, as we supposed, returned to the Turcomans, his old masters.

The mountains, when we moved from Bazocleu in the morning, were all clear, except Sipylus, which was enveloped in mist. On the way a shower or two fell, which cooled the air, and occasioned a delicious freshness and fragrancy. Now Sipylus was quite hid ; and thunder, with violent rain, proceeded from the thick black clouds, in which it was enwrapped. At half after four, the sun broke out, the clouds brightened, and above them its summit was discernible. Thin fleeces were yet hanging low on the side of the mountain beyond the Hermus.

After dining under a tree by a clear stream we rode briskly on, and arrived in two hours at Durguthli, or Casabar. This is a town of considerable extent, in the plain, with many minarets of mosques rising amid trees. The khan was most exceedingly wretched, and our stay, though for a single night, seemed tedious. The place was a great thoroughfare ; and the accounts we received of the malady raging at Smyrna, became at every stage, as we advanced, more terrible as well as more authentic.

Early in the morning we went on toward Mount Sipylus. On our left was an opening into a plain, between that mountain, and the end of Mount Tmolus ; and beyond it was a lofty ridge covered with snow. Magnesia, with the river Hermus, is on the north side of Sipylus. There must be the junction of the three plains, the Sardian, that of the Hermus, and the Caystrian ; which have been described as below, or to the west of Sardes ; as contiguous ; and as unrivalled in

fertility and beauty*. We passed a wide water-course, and a river, and then a stream, after which we came to the extremity of the mountain.

Mount Sipylus was anciently noted for frequent thunder. At Smyrna I had often listened to the rumbling, and marked the remote lightning, which gleamed from that quarter. A city of the same name as the mountain was once the capital of M^onia or Lydia. It was recorded, that, in the time of Tantalus, prodigious earthquakes had happened. Then many villages were absorbed, the city Sipylus was subverted, and marshes were changed into lakes. The credibility of this relation was demonstrated, as Strabo remarks, by the dreadful effects of the earthquake under Tiberius, and the overthrow of Magnesia. Where Sipylus had stood was a marsh called Sale. The mountain, terminating on the north-east in a vast naked precipice, has now beneath it a very limpid water, with a small marsh, not far from a sepulchre cut in the rock, and there perhaps was Sale, and the site of Sipylus.

We travelled on at the foot of the mountain, with the plain, of the Hermus, which is very extensive, on our right hand. Our horses were much jaded, and we fatigued, when, after eight hours, we reached Magnesia.

The famous story of the transformation of Niobe the daughter of Tantalus, had for its foundation a phenomenon extant in Mount Sipylus. I shall give an account of this extraordinary curiosity elsewhere. The phantom may be defined, "an effect of a certain portion of light and shade on a part of Sipylus, perceivable at a particular point of view." The traveller, who shall visit Magnesia after this information,

* Strabo, p. 626.

is requested to observe carefully a steep and remarkable cliff, about a mile from the town ; varying its distance, while the sun and shade, which come gradually on, pass over it. I have reason to believe he will see Niobe.

CHAP. LXXX.

History of Magnesia—The present town—The royal mosques—A Mausoleum—The castle—Of the Hyllus.

MAGNESIA surrendered to the Romans, immediately after the decisive battle between Scipio and Antiochus. It was a free city, and shared in the bounty of Tiberius Cæsar, next to Sardes, as second in its sufferings from the earthquake. While the Turks made incursions into the field of Menomen by Smyrna, ruining the country, in 1303, the emperor Michael was shut up in this place ; from which he escaped by night. The grand-duke Roger garrisoned it with Italians. The inhabitants rose, and killed some of them ; when he besieged the city, but was forced to retire. In 1313 it ranked among the acquisitions of Sarkhan, afterwards Sultan of Ionia. It was the city chosen for his retreat by Morat or Amurath the second in 1443, when he resigned the empire to his son Mahomet the second, the conqueror of Constantinople.

Soon after our arrival at the khan, we were visited by a Frenchman, a practitioner in physic ; who told us that he had attended Mr. Bouverie in a pleurisy at Sanderli.* He

* Attalia.

conducted us about the town, which retains its ancient name, and is still very extensive; spreading in the plain at the mountain foot, on the acclivity of the castle hill, and up a valley on each side.† It is populous, and has a great trade. The mosques are numerous; and the Greeks have a large and handsome church, and also a monastery.

Among the mosques at Magnesia, two have double minarets or turrets, and are very noble structures, of marble. Each has before it an area with a fountain. We were permitted to enter one of them, which had been lately beautified, leaving our boots or shoes at the door. The inside was as neat as possible; and the floor covered with rich carpets. The ornamental painting pleased by an odd novelty of design, and a lively variety of colour. The dome is lofty and of great dimensions. The lamps, which were innumerable, many pendant from the ceiling, with balls of polished ivory intermixed, must, when lighted, amaze equally by their artful disposition, their splendor, and their multitude. These edifices, a college of dervishes, and a bedlam, were erected and endowed by Sultan Morat and his queen.

Sultan Morat intended to lead a private life at Magnesia. We were shewn the site of his palace, his seraglio, and garden. The remains are some pieces of wall, with several large and stately cypress trees. Near them is a neat mausoleum, with a dome, over the tombs of his wives and children, in number twenty two, of different sizes, disposed in three rows, all plain, and of stone.

The castle hill is exceedingly high, the ascent steep and tiresome, with loose stones in the way. By the track is a

* See a view, *Le Brun*, p. 37.

fountain, with a broken inscription,* and earthen pipes, which convey water down to the city. It is a mean fortress, abandoned, and in ruins. The cannon, it is related, were removed to the Sangiac castle in the gulf of Smyrna. The recompense of our toil, in gaining the summit, was an extensive view of a fine verdant plain, divided by the Hermus shining like silver. Chishull relates, that the needle of a sea compass placed on different stones, after pointing various ways, quickly lost its whole virtue. We tried with our pocket compass, but discovered no such magnetic quality in the rock.

The Romans obtained their great victory over Antiochus, between Thyatira and Sardes, on the banks of the Hyllus, then called the Phrygius. His camp had that river in front, and was strongly fortified. Thyatira is distant fourteen or fifteen hours from Magnesia; and the Hyllus descends by it to the Hermus. The junction of the two streams may sometimes be seen from the castle.†

CHAP. LXXXI.

Our embarrassment—Insecurity at Magnesia—The plague at Thyatira—We set out for Smyrna—At Hadgilar—At Sedicui—A Greek.

OUR situation was now become very critical and distressing. We were only eight hours north-eastward from Smyrna. We were all sufficiently wearied with wandering,

* Hesselius, n. 24.

† Chishull, p. 56.

and desirous of a respite. Several of our horses were spoiled by the rough service they had undergone ; and some of our men were anxious for their families, and uneasy from their long absence. The disabled condition of our little corps, with the general disquietude, and the risque in journeying, as well from the season, as from the distemper, made us ardently wish for a secure retreat, but the difficulty was find one.

The malady, it was believed, had not yet reached Magnesia ; but caravans were continually arriving from Smyrna, and it could scarcely fail of being speedily imported. In a khan we were exposed among the foremost to infection. If we obtained admission into the Greek monastery, or a private house, horror and momentary peril would be our portion, as soon as the plague commenced ; at a distance from our countrymen, without friends, among people fatally ignorant and negligent ; in whom we could place no confidence ; and from whom, we, if attacked, could have little room to expect any attention and regard, or indeed even sepulture.

An Italian quack doctor had visited us at the khan, and accompanied us up to the castle. He was just arrived from Akhissar or Thyatira, and assured us, that place was free from contagion. We determined, rather than enter Smyrna without absolute necessity, to extend our tour thither, and to Pergamum ; hoping, while we were employed on that side of the Hermus, a favourable alteration might ensue. The janizary and Armenians acquiesced, with some reluctance, and our baggage was loading, when a papas or Greek priest informed one of my companions, that he had recent intelligence from Thyatira, and that the plague was then in the house of the aga. Our whole arrangement was in an instant

overturned; but we agreed immediately to abandon Magnesia; and, fortunately, as the evil presaged, became manifest there very soon after, and the civil Frenchman, our guide, perished among the first victims.

We are now on the road to Smyrna. After riding for some time at the foot of Mount Sipylus, we entered on a track on the left hand, and crossing the mountain, arrived in the plain of Hadgilar, a village two hours from Smyrna. We met a few travellers, whom we passed with caution, enquiring of them at a distance, and hearing a most dismal tale. Our terror and perplexity increased as we advanced. We were assured many of the villages were infected. We were ignorant whether we could be admitted into the house of the English consul, and whether he had remained at Smyrna. Various methods of giving, and procuring the intelligence, necessary for our mutual security were devised, and proposed, and rejected, as unsafe; when, being exceedingly embarrassed, we turned aside from the road to deliberate, and to repose awhile among the olive-trees.

Seeing the village of Hadgilar near us, I rode on, followed by the Swiss, and meeting a peasant, asked him whether any Frank or European lived there; and was answered, Mr. Lec. I galloped up to his house, and was received with his accustomed cordiality. A prudent regard to the safety of his family forbidding our admission within his gate,* he ordered liquors and plenty of provisions for our refreshment, and with Mr. Maltas his partner, and the Abbé D. Giuseppe Icard, who had been educated at the college De Propaganda at Rome, and had attended us as our instructor in the

* See a view in *Le Brun*, p. 400.

Greek and modern languages, accompanied me back to the tree, where joy was already diffused through our tattered and sun-burnt troop.

Mr. Lee had reserved for us the house, which he occupied the summer before at Sedicui. We crossed to it in the evening, leaving Smyrna, where the plague was very furious, on our right hand. The next day we dismissed our men, except the Swiss and an Armenian, our cook, who had a couple of horses, which we kept for some time. The janizary resumed his station at the consul's gate, with the same composure as if unattended with any danger; and the Armenians retired to a spot near another village, where many of their nation were assembled, waiting under tents and sheds until the malady should abate.

We remained five in number, besides a Greek, who had the care of the garden, and had been indulged with the privilege of vending its produce to the villagers; but this occasioning a more free intercourse than was consistent with our safety, a separation followed; after which his place of abode was on some planks, laid over a cistern beneath a shed, at some distance from the house; the furniture a very few utensils, and tools, a coverlet, a garment or two, some dry gourds, and his gun. The danger of infection increasing, he accepted a compensation, and ceased to sell. He was intrusted with a key of the garden door, solely for his own use, but at times admitted other Greeks, and sate drinking with them to a late hour, disturbing us with droning songs, and the melancholy tinklings of a rude lyre.

CHAP. LXXXII.

*Of Sedicui—Manner of watering the gardens—An engine—
The mountain—Our house—Provisions—Our market man—
Misconduct of a servant—Our manner of living—The tettix—
The weather—An earthquake.*

SEDICUI is a small village with a mosque and a fountain.* It was inhabited by a few Turks and Greeks, and by two Franks, with their families; the count de Hochpied the Dutch consul, and Mr. Fremaux a merchant of that nation. It is seated by a flat plain, on which are scattered fig, almond, and olive trees, with some bushes; the surface then parched, no verdure, neither weeds nor a blade of grass. On the west side are mountains, branches of Corax; and on these the jackalls howled every night, beginning about sunset. We were informed, that an old Turk, with a snow-white beard, had foretold, that Sedicui would not suffer from the plague, for their hunting near it was a favourable prognostic, which in his memory had never failed.

A gentle ascent led from the village to the roots of Mount Corax, through a corn field, in which is a fountain fed by clear rills, carefully conveyed to it along the slopes. Close by is a square reservoir sunk in the ground; from which in the morning and at evening, when the stoppage was removed, a streamlet ran babbling over pebbles down to the village, to water the gardens. We had it in our turn, and the garden

* See a view. Le Brun, p. 29.

was ingeniously disposed for its reception, a small trench branching out over the whole area, and each bed having its furrows, with the plants standing on their edges. The current enters at a hole in the wall, and the gardener attends and directs it with his spade or hoe; damming across the general communication to turn it into the parterres, and conducting it about until the soil is saturated.*

When it happened that the springs were dry, or the allowance not sufficient, the necessary fluid was raised by a machine, as in the orange-orchards of Scio. It is a large broad wheel furnished with ropes, hanging down and reaching into the water. Each rope has many cylindrical earthen vessels, fastened to it by the handles, with bands of myrtle or of mastic. This apparatus is turned by a small horizontal wheel, with a horse or mule blinded and going round, as in a mill. The jars beneath fill, and arrive, in regular succession, at the top of the wheel, when they empty, and return inverted to be again replenished. The trough, which receives the water, conveys it into a cistern to be distributed, at a proper hour, among the drooping vegetables. A like engine is in use in Persia and in Egypt.†

Above the corn field the mountain rose, brown and arid; the wild sage and plants crumbling when touched. In the side are narrow retired vales worn by torrents, and filled with spontaneous evergreen, thickets of myrtle in blossom, and groves of calodaphne or oleander, the boughs then laden with flowers of a pale red colour. Amid these a slender current trickled down a rocky precipice, like tears, to invert the poet's simile,‡ from the eyes of sorrow. The slope afford-

* See Homer, *Il.* φ'.† See Shaw's *Travels*.

‡ Homer.

ed a pleasing view of our little village, and of the country ; and from a summit may be seen part of the gulf of Smyrna. I discovered a goat-stand in a dale, on the top, when I was too near to retreat. The savage-looking shepherds called off, and chid their dogs, which were fierce and barked furiously. They were sitting at the mouth of a pen, seizing the ewes, and the she-goats, each by the hind leg, as they pressed forward, to milk them. Some of the flock or herd were often by the fountain below with their keeper, who played on a rude flute, or pipe.

Our house was two stories high ; chiefly of wood and plaster, which materials are commonly preferred, not only as cheap, but for security in earthquakes ; the joists and nails swaying and yielding as the undulation requires. The lower story was open in the centre. On the right hand was a magazine, or store-room ; and opposite to it, an apartment with old fashioned lacquered chairs. Between these our servants slept, on the ground. A door communicated with the offices, which were behind. The ascent to the upper story was by stone stairs, as usual, on the outside. The gallery extended the whole length of the front. It sheltered us from the sun, which darted fiery rays from a cloudless sky ; and was agreeable as a place to walk and sleep in. We had three apartments, with wooden lattices to admit the air, while cool ; and with shutters to exclude it, when inflamed. That in the centre was small. The end rooms, one of which we reserved for our meals, were large, with their doors opposite. The walls were all white-washed. Our furniture consisted of three or four broken or infirm chairs, a couple of unequal tables, and the utensils, bedding and baggage, with which we had travelled. We lay on boards placed on stools, and moveable.

We endeavoured by reducing our wants to as small a number as we could, to avoid communicating with Smyrna. Our village supplied us with fowls and eggs, and with flesh, as often as a cow was killed. The garden furnished a variety of articles, particularly a species of fruit called melinzane, and gourds, which are eaten stewed. But wine, candles, and many other requisites could be purchased only in the city; and for these a Turk was to be sent, as seldom as possible, with our provision chests on a horse. He unloaded in the court, received his pay, and left us without touching any person or thing. The chests were then washed with water and vinegar, and the contents exposed in the air, or fumigated as their quality directed. This was done before they were handled or used, with the most minute attention; and, as a check on negligence, generally under our immediate inspection.

The reader perhaps will imagine, that we tempted the Turk, to go on these errands, by the offer of a great reward; but we had no difficulty in procuring a messenger to Smyrna, even when the malady raged most, and appeared inevitable. Our market-man, who likewise served the other Frank families at Sedicui, did not once hesitate. Fear was overcome by a sentiment of duty, and of obedience to his law. He had liberty to avoid the infected city; but, if he entered, might not afterwards refrain. His hire was one piaster, or, about half a crown. The good mussulman persevered, and repeatedly underwent, for this trifling gratuity, such immediate risk, as the wiser European would not once incur, for all the treasures of the grand seignior.

Soon after our arrival at Sedicui, we wanted some articles from our apartments in the consul's house, for which my companions determined to go in person, escorted by a jani-

zary. It was dusk when they left the village. They arrived at night, and did their business ; but one of our servants getting in liquor proved unmanageable, and detained them so long, that in coming back they met some Turks, who had been burying a corpse. The caution of the Franks is offensive to the Mahometans, as implying a distrust of the Supreme Being. The man was embroiled with them, and one striking him with a spade, he drew a pistol, and it was with difficulty a fray was prevented. Besides the danger on the spot, our general safety was deeply interested in his misconduct, which indeed was without excuse.

Our confinement proved sufficiently irksome. We had some books and our papers with us, and full leisure for study or meditation. A very few kind visitants, among whom was Mr. Lee, called on us now and then, and inquired of our welfare, at a distance ; condoling with us on the necessity of mutual estrangement, or relating the progress of the malady and its daily havock, which afforded but too much room for strenuous exertions of fortitude and resignation. The brightness and power of the sun, with the extreme heat of the air, made us seldom stir out, unless early in the morning, and in the evening. The languor of noon demanded sleep. The body, though arrayed as thinly and loosely as possible, was covered, during the day, with big drops of sweat, and dissolved, as it were, in a mighty and universal perspiration. Then followed a milder sky, lengthening shadows, and a gradual coolness, grateful and pleasing beyond imagination. Then was the comfortable hour for change of linen, and of apparel, to enjoy the garden, or to wander on the mountain. These privileges of our situation were not inconsiderable in their value, as some of our acquaintance testified, whose lot

it was to be pent up in the city, tormented by insects, drooping, and dispirited, with nothing to alleviate or divert their melancholy. The castle hill of Smyrna was an object plainly in view, in these our walks, and beheld not without emotion. The plague and death were busy near us, and the intelligence, which we received from the Franks and Greeks, was dreadful to hear. We had personal liberty, but it became more and more necessary to use it with extreme caution, by avoiding the near approach of any whom we chanced to meet, and all intercourse, which could produce danger or suspicion. The sun setting behind the summits of Mount Corax, left the sky serene, and stained with rich and varying tints. A chorus of jackalls ensued; and the cucuvaia or night-hawk flitted in the air.

We found Sedicui free from the insects, which had molested us at Smyrna, except a few stray mosquitoes, and some of the small flies, which were very teasing; but the tettix, or cicada, in the day time, is extremely troublesome. It is a brown insect resembling a chafer, with wings much longer than its body, and thin like those of a fly. It sits on the bushes and trees, making with its wings, as is affirmed by Hesiod,* a very loud, ugly, screaming noise. When one begins, others join, and the disagreeable concert becomes universal; then a dead pause ensues; and then, as it were on a signal, it commences again. Dionysius of Syracuse signified his resolution to burn and lay waste the territory of a people, with whom he had a quarrel, when he said, that, *if they refused to comply with his demands, their tettixes should sing on the ground.*

We had excessive heat in the latter end of May, the wind

* Έρρη, και Ημπε. βιβλ. Β. γ. 202..

northerly; as also during the harvest in June. From that quarter it blowed fiery as from a furnace; coming over mountains scorched by the sun. We endeavoured to exclude it by closing our shutters and doors, though gasping for breath. The thermometer, which at other times was commonly between eighty-four and eighty-six, then rose at noon to ninety-five. The harvest was presently over. The sheaves were collected in the field, and the grain trodden out by buffaloes. In the morning, the wind was often southerly, before the inbat from the bay reached us. This frequently continued to a late hour, rustling among the trees. We had thunder, with distant lightning, in the beginning of June; and, in the latter end of July, clouds began to appear from the south. The air was repeatedly cooled by showers, which had fallen elsewhere, and it was easy to foretel the approaching rain. This was the season for consuming the dry herbage and undergrowth on the mountains: and we often saw the fire blazing in the wind, and spreading a thick smoke along their sides.

On the eleventh of July we had an earthquake, which agitated the whole house, the beams and joists of the roof crashing over our heads. It happened about seven in the morning, and was preceded by a hollow rumbling noise, which was mistaken by several persons for the report of cannon; the captain basha or Turkish high admiral then waiting with a fleet in the gulf of Smyrna, to receive on board the revenues of the grand seignior. The sound seemed to come from the south-east. The sensation was such as would be felt, I imagine, if the earth were set suddenly afloat. It occasioned a great alarm. Some lesser shocks succeeded, but their centres were remote.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

Beginning of the plague—Some accidents—Its fury—Its probable cause—How communicated—Not pestilential, or in the air—Uncontrouled—Infatuation of the Turks.

THE beginning of the plague was, as we have related, in the spring. The first sufferers were from the island Musconisi, or from Tino. An uncertain rumour preceded its manifestation. One sickened, then two, or more; until, the instances multiplying, the Franks shut their gates, or prepared to retire into the country. It was no new enemy, and as yet produced no great terror. When we were about to quit Smyrna, three English gentlemen, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Skipwith, and Mr. Wilbraham, arrived from Athens, with Mr. Turnbull, a very worthy physician, who had lived many years at Smyrna, and was highly esteemed there by the Europeans in general. They were visited, and received, and no danger apprehended.

The kindly temperature of the weather gave vigour to the disease, while we were absent, and it was propagated amazingly. The consul then appointed a market-man from among his domestics; and his station was at the gate near the janizary. After about three weeks, he was attacked, carried with his bedding to the hospital, and died the same day. A maid-servant next complained that she had taken cold by sleeping on the terrace. She had a slight fever with the head-ache. Half a paper of James's powder purged and sweated her. The fever returned every afternoon. Another

half paper vomited her ; but neither eating nor sleeping, she grew costive and weak. An Italian, who was physician to the factory, came on the ninth or tenth day from the country, and standing below, ordered the patient to be brought to the stair-head. He observed a vein, under her tongue, black and very turgid ; pronounced her disorder to be the plague ; and advised sending her to the hospital, where his opinion was confirmed by a Greek. She was then removed to the Roman Catholic hospital, and died after lingering on ten days. The welfare of a large family was rendered suspicious by this alarming incident. We had reason to rejoice both that we did not tarry in Smyrna, and that we had met with our friend at Hadgilar.

The malady did not abate in May, when we took possession of our asylum. Four persons were seized in the family of the Cadi, the deputy chancellor of the French nation died, and a dragoman or interpreter was attacked. Turks, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and the like, perished without number. Of the Greeks alone sometimes above a hundred and thirty were buried in a day. It was generally agreed the calamity had not been severer in the memory of man. In July, when the captain pasha arrived to receive the taxes and tribute-money, some hundreds of houses, it was said, were unoccupied or without owners. A fire, which began to rage near the Frank quarter, seemed, amid all this misery, to threaten new affliction, but was fortunately subdued.

The plague might perhaps be truly defined, a disease arising from certain animalcules, probably invisible, which burrow and form their nidus in the human body.* These,

* See an Account of the Nigua. Ulloa's Voyage, v. 1. p. 64.

whether generated originally in Egypt or elsewhere, subsist always in some places suited to their nature. They are imported almost annually into Smyrna, and this species is commonly destroyed by intense heat. They are least fatal at the beginning and latter end of the season. If they arrive early in the spring, they are weak; but gather strength, multiply, and then perish. The pores of the skin, opened by the weather, readily admit them. One or more tumours, chiefly in the glandular parts, ensue, with a variety of the most afflicting symptoms. If the patient survive suppuration, he is dreadfully infectious; and the calamity is woefully augmented by the consideration that one recovery is no security from future attacks. Seycuse, an Armenian, who had been our cook, and at my request revealed his unsightly scars, perished now; and, as I was assured, it sometimes happens, that in one season an individual is twice a sufferer.

The plague is a disease communicated chiefly, if not solely, by contact. Hence, though it encircle the house, it will not affect the persons within, if all are uniformly discreet and provident, as experience has demonstrated. Tranquillity of mind and freedom from apprehension cannot be expected. They are most disagreeably, and without the minutest care most dangerously circumstanced. Iron, it is observed, and the like substances, which are of a close hard texture, do not retain, or are not susceptible of the contagion. In bodies soft or porous, and especially in paper, it lurks often undiscovered but by its seizing some victim. The preservatives are fumigation, and washing with water or vinegar. In particular a letter is taken up with a pair of tongs, and in a manner singed before it can be opened with safety. Domestic animals, which are prone to wander, must be excluded

or destroyed. A large family will require many articles to be procured from without, and is exposed in proportion to its wants. If in the city, a clandestine intercourse of debauched servants is ever to be feared ; if in the country and detached, some untoward accident or trivial, but important inadvertency. Unremitting attention is necessary to avert horror, and suspicion from either situation.

The streets of Smyrna are so narrow and filthy, the houses so crowded ; and the concourse of people in spring so great, that during the summer heats distemper could not fail to riot there, if the town were not regularly perfumed by the Jubat and land-breezes ; but the plague is not the offspring of the atmosphere. It perhaps could not even exist long in a pestilential air. The natives retire to rest about sun-set, and rise with the dawn, when the dead are carried on biers to be interred. The Frank, who has business to transact, goes from the country to his house in the town, in the interim, or returns without fear. Solitude and the sacred night befriend him.

The progress of the plague at Smyrna is utterly uncontrolled. The people, except the Franks, are in general as negligent as ignorant. Their dwellings are crowded, many inhabiting in a small compass ; and their chambers are covered with matting or carpets, sofas, and cushions, adapted as well to retain as to receive contagion. Besides this, the Turk deems it a meritorious office to assist in carrying the dead ; and, on perceiving the funeral of a Mussulman, hastens to put his shoulder under the bier, on which the corpse lies extended and in its clothes. He perseveres in the pious work, until relieved by one equally mad and well-meaning. Several succeed by turns, and concur to rescue the living plague

from being interred with the carcase, its prey. This kind of infatuation is not, however, without some utility. It ensures burial, the sick are tended, and the markets supplied.

The plague might be wholly averted from these countries, or at least prevented from spreading, if lazarettoes were erected, and salutary regulations enforced, as in some cities in Europe. Smyrna would be affected as little perhaps as Marseilles, if its police were as well modelled. But this is the wisdom of a sensible and enlightened people. The Turk will not acknowledge the means as efficacious, or will reject them as unlawful. A bigotted predestinarian, he resolves sickness or health, pleasure or pain, with all, even the most trifling incidents of life, into the mighty power and uncontrollable will of the Supreme Being. He views the prudent Frank with insolent disdain, and reproaches him with timidity or irreligion. He triumphs in superior courage and confidence, going out or coming in during the malady with a calm indifference, as at other times; like the brute beast, unconscious of the road, which leads to its security or destruction.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

*Duration of the plague—It appears at Sedicui—Its cessation
—We return to Smyrna—Prepare to leave Asia.*

It is an established opinion among the Greeks, that soon after St. John's day O. S. the fury of the plague decreases, and that the term of its duration does not extend beyond the

10th or 15th of August. About that time the Frank merchants commonly unlock their gates, drooping trade revives, and a free intercourse is restored. We looked forward, as may be imagined, to that period, with the most earnest desire and impatience.

The villages round Smyrna suffered sooner or later with the city; nor was Sedicui wholly exempted. A Greek, eager to secure the trifling effects of a deceased brother, went to the town, returned and sickened; was carried back and presently expired. A Frenchman, valet to Count de Hochpied, who lived opposite to us, a wall separating our gardens, complained of indisposition in the beginning of July. A swelling appeared, and a poultice applied to it was attended with sharp pain, and raised a fiery bladder. Suspicion was then exchanged for unwelcome certainty. He was removed to Smyrna, and recovered. This family was well regulated: and the man, who had a good character for his care and circumspection, could not account for his contracting the malady, unless it were communicated by a sheathed knife, which in following his master, he had picked up, and instantly on recollection thrown down again. These accidents disturbed our quiet, removed all confidence in our retreat, and made us redouble our vigilance and caution. A fire also happened, which destroyed a house by our garden.

We were happy, when the month of August arrived, in finding the popular remark on the continuance of the plague verified. The city was said to be free from that disease, but a contagious and mortal fever raged, principally among the Greeks. This was attributed to their diet, which in the summer season consists almost wholly of fruits. We engaged a

number of horses and mules to carry us and our baggage once more to Smyrna; and the 8th of August was fixed for our departure from Sedicui; where we had resided from the 11th of May,

It was striking, as we passed the Turkish cemeteries, on our way into Smyrna, to contemplate the many recent graves of different sizes, exhibiting the uncertain tenure of a frail body at every stage of life; and furnishing melancholy evidence that death had been glutted with as little distinction of age as of condition. Farther on were the half-burned ruins of houses, which had lately menaced a general conflagration. In the Frank street, which had been crowded in the winter; we now met a few persons wearing a pensive look; and the comparative solitude of that quarter added force to the dismal ideas, which intruded on us. All had been involved in public misery and in private distress, but some where wonderfully spared. We were heartily greeted by the fat janizary at the gate. The consul welcomed us again, and soon after we had the satisfaction of seeing our other friends, and Mr. Lee.

It was natural to wish for a speedy removal from a country, in which we had been exposed to so many dangers. We resolved to proceed immediately to Athens. We found on enquiry that we could not draw on Leghorn for money from thence; and that to obviate much future difficulty and solicitude, we must carry specie with us. Mr. Lee accepted our bills on London for £800. at the usual discount. The animosities, which had subsisted between the governors in the district of Cuthaya, and the basha of Gulzel-hissar, had now produced hostilities; and on the north-side of the gulf of

Smyrna, some great men were seizing cannon, horses, and arms, and preparing to decide their disputes by battle. These troubles would have prevented our making any farther excursions from Smyrna. We hired a boat to sail in ten days : and had reason to rejoice that our long stay on this continent was so near a conclusion.

THE END.



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